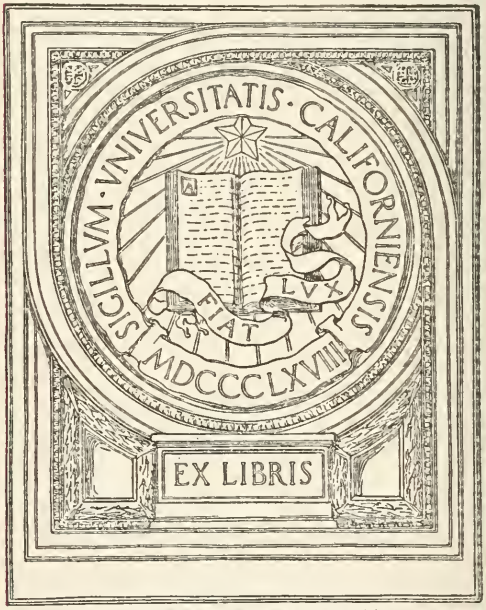
THE GREAT SOLEMNITY OF THE CORONATION



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THE GREAT SOLEMNITY OF THE CORONATION


GEORGE ALLEN
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THE GREAT SOLEMNITY OF THE CORONATION OF A KING AND QUEEN

ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

WITH NOTES AND EXCURSUSES, LITURGICAL HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE,

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY

LONDON:
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PREFACE

Some four-fifths of the original edition of this book, published in 1902 by Mr. F. E. Robinson, having been destroyed, shortly after publication, by a fire at the printers', it has been suggested to me to reissue it in a cheaper form.

The somewhat fully annotated Order of Service now reproduced is the new one for King George V. and Queen Mary, which has been put forth while these sheets were passing through the press. The Excursuses have been somewhat altered, and the whole book has been revised.

It aims at popularising the results of the labours of scholars, by whom so much has been done of recent years for the elucidation of the august Coronation Rite. D. M.

Easter, 1911.

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INTRODUCTION

It is natural that a Bishop of Salisbury should welcome to the foundation of St. Osmund those clergy who have shown special interest in the ordinances and liturgical offices of the Church of England. It has therefore been a particular pleasure to myself to admit to it, among its recently created prebendaries or canons, two such excellent liturgists as our new Sub-dean, Christopher Wordsworth, and our clerical proctor in Convocation, Canon Douglas Macleane. Both of them have thrown light on the great solemnity of the Coronation, to which we are all looking forward this year, the Sub-dean in the two learned works which he has edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society, and Canon Macleane in the first edition of this book, which is now issued, on the basis of the service appointed for the Coronation of their present Majesties, with the amendments and corrections which make it suitable for the occasion.

I shall not be surprised if it should prove one of the most popular books of the year, and one

which its possessors will most care to preserve of all the memorials of this solemn rite.

Mr. Macleane's literary skill is well known to his friends, and it extends to several rather separate fields. He is a logician, as well as a historian and a theologian. But he is above all a Churchman; and many will feel thankful, as I do, that the task of illustrating this splendid national act of religion has fallen into such sympathetic hands. In days when the present satisfaction of material wants and desires is an absorbing occupation to so many, it is a happy thing for the country to be reminded of the high ideal of kingly office which has come down to us from the past, and to have it set forth by means of the wholesome and expressive symbolism of the successive acts of the Coronation drama. It is a striking spectacle and (I will not say "but") a deeply religious one. Books like this, which turn men's minds to the inner meaning of what is done, may serve a double purpose. They may be expected to make that action more fruitful of blessing to all who take part in it, and to the country at large. They may also open men's eyes to the value of a sober, dignified and solemn ritual, especially on the great festivals of the Church, and on the great occasions of individual life, and to the possibility of teaching even our simplest folk to enter into the spirit

of common acts of worship. I think it is not too much, for instance, to hope that those Nonconformists who approve of the solemn promises made by the King at his coronation, and of the solemn benediction given to him by the Church at that great moment of his life—as I believe most of them do—will also see that the Church cannot be wrong in treating the individual Christian at his confirmation in a somewhat similar manner. The Church is so far in sympathy with democracy that it wishes all her sons and daughters to have relatively as high an ideal with regard to their own lives and callings as our gracious Sovereign, thank God, is privileged to have for his.

JOHN SARUM.

3rd April 1911.

"O wise Helena, thou hast set the Cross upon the head of Princes that it may be adored in the homage paid to them."

—St. Ambrose.

"The pageant of earthly royalty has the semblance and the benediction of the Eternal King."

—Newman.

THE GREAT SOLEMNITY OF THE CORONATION

SACRING

"THOU silly fellow, thou dost not know thy own silly business!" said an eighteenth-century peer to Anstis, the king-of-arms; and Horace Walpole, who records the words, remarks how useless it is to know anything about "barbarous ages, when there was no taste." Nevertheless, the Coronation rite impressed the flippant Horace himself as "awful." It is crowded also with interest to the historical student.

"The Westminster Coronations," Stanley says, "contain, on the one hand, in the Recognition, the Enthronization, and the Oath the utterances of the 'fierce democracy' of the people of England; they contain, on the other hand, in the Unction, the fatal Stone, the sanction of the prelates, and the homage of the nobles the primitive regard for sacred places, sacred relics, consecrated persons, and heaven-descended right, lingering on through changes in the most opposite direction" (*Westminster Abbey*, p. 110).

Since George III. died the subject has been scientifically studied. Arthur Taylor's erudite *Glory of Regality* was published in 1821—one of the firstfruits of the romanticist movement. The writings of Silver and of Palmer drew further attention to the Coronation. The first edition of Maskell's great work, the *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, is dated 1846. Since then the early pontificals have been printed, and the Henry Bradshaw Society has issued the truly scholarly volumes of Prebendary Wordsworth, the Rev. E. S. Dewick and Dr. J. Wickham Legg. Planché's *Regal Records* and Mr. Cyril Davenport's *English Regalia* deal with non-liturgical aspects of the subject; and Mr. William Jones's *Crowns and Coronations* is a mine of popular information, not always accurate in detail, of every possible kind. It is not necessary to mention the picturesque chapter, disfigured, however, by some blunders, in Stanley's "Memorials" of the Abbey. In a different class comes Mr. Leopold Wickham Legg's monumental *Coronation Records*, published in 1901. Invaluable, of course, are the works on this subject of the Stuart antiquaries, such as Selden, Sandford and Walker.

"It is meritorious," says Carlyle, "to insist on forms. Religion and all else naturally clothes itself in forms. . . . Forms which *grow* round a substance will be true and good; forms which

are consciously put round a substance bad. I invite you to reflect on this. It distinguishes true as from false in Ceremonial Form, earnest Solemnity from empty pageant." And he makes Teufelsdröckh say: "The only title wherein I trace eternity is that of King." Only Carlyle looks to the man rather than to the office. All sovereignty is really one. Majesty is not, as Milton declares, "a gaudy name," for it is the reflexion of the "throne and equipage of God's almightiness." Thus there is an eternal value in ceremonies, which are neither "chaff" nor "overdated." Cromwell and Buonaparte knew their importance. And a time of revived historic imagination, like our own, prizes the symbols of more than millennial transmission of majestic sovereignty. Such sceptred continuity, resting on no mere casual mandate of the polls and implying no triumph of a faction, seems, when contrasted with the transitory passing of Presidents and Premiers and the see-saw tyranny of party government, a temporal adumbration of God's unchanging dominion. Whatever alteration has come about in the practical basis of politics, the Throne is felt to guard the mystical foundation of human society, the truth of a Divine authority outside of, and above, the vicissitude, mutation and caprice of mere opinion. The English constitution especially needs this

witness. "Of all democracies," says Professor Bryce, "ours is that which has been content to surround itself with the fewest checks and safeguards. The venerable Throne remains, and serves to conceal the greatness of the transformation that the years have worked."

"Our English Coronation Service," wrote Bishop Westcott just before his death, "is a noble commentary on the idea of government. It can be traced back for eleven centuries. It is a grave loss that it is not printed as an Appendix to the Prayer-Book." It is a standing protest against unworthy conceptions of Church and State. And it seems providential that the Church of England, so peculiarly in danger, since the sixteenth century, from Cæsarism on the one hand and parliamentism on the other, should alone in the West have conserved a Rite which teaches so loftily the idealism of national life. It stands between us and a State-established undenominationalism.

The supernatural in politics is that which the Benthamite utilitarianism took away from Western Christendom, and which we are slowly recovering. It is no longer true that "Englishmen regard the Throne as an instrument of political convenience, based on the Act of Settlement," or that the Crown is to them merely "a metaphor kept in the Tower." However hedged by constitutional

limitations a modern Sovereign may be, he is not the removable chairman of a joint-stock company, a mere Clerk of the Council, a gilded figurehead, or a State policeman. His life's work is still, in Aristotle's phrase, to "make men better," or, in that of St. Ambrose, the "gain of souls."

"O loved lord," said Dunstan, addressing one of the earliest Kings of England at his Coronation, "hear especially and carefully for thyself, and think of this often, that thou shalt, at God's judgment, lead forth and lead up to the Shepherd those over whom thou art made shepherd in this life, and how thou keep this generation whom Christ Himself has bought with His Blood."

Had he not placed his whole empire, his people, his army, his house, and himself beneath the Cross, how, asked the Emperor William II. not long ago, could he go on? "Kingship by the grace of God, with its onerous duties, its endless toils and tasks, its tremendous responsibility before God alone, from which no mortal, no parliament, no minister can give release"—how else was it supportable? "Tribulation and royalty and patience" is St. John's striking collocation. The ideal of the old heroic kingship, hedged by divinity, was of one who gave himself for his people, who toiled that they might rest, waked that they might sleep, suffered that they might be guarded, nourished, taught and lifted up. Times have

greatly changed. A king of Castile leading his chivalry to battle against pagan wrong is a picture of the past. But the sacredness of a vast and solemn trust, under different forms, remains the same as in the days of an Oswald or Edmund or Alfred or St. Louis. All structural growth is towards a head, and it is the felt need of monarchy which makes it to be, throughout the saner parts of Christendom, the growing power, as Mr. Balfour has observed, of our complex times. It is important, then, that it should lose nothing of the impress of religion and the hallowing of Heaven. In the Coronation Solemnity the King is not seen receiving his regality from the Church in the sense of the Hildebrandine theory, but yet as consecrated by her anointing ministry, and not taking up his sword, his sceptre or his crown till they have been laid upon the altar of God.

In the abeyance of the French monarchy, the English Coronation Service survives almost by itself. It is in all essentials and much of its language the form which we find in the Pontifical of Egbert, who became Bishop of York in 732, and which was doubtless used for the Coronation of his brother Eadbert in 737. There is no reason to suppose that Egbert composed this service, which had probably been used for the hallowing of earlier Northumbrian monarchs. It is

headed "The Mass for Kings on the Day of their Benediction," and merely gives the additions for that day to the ordinary Eucharistic service. It contains no popular "recognition" and no oath; only a declaration at the end of the principles on which the King means to govern. It is essentially benedictory, and centres round the unction. The earlier view of a royal sacring was "anointing to King" rather than investiture and coronation.

A later Anglo-Saxon Order, which has come down to us in full, dates from the union of the Seven Kingdoms in one, and is called by Ethelred's name. "Benedictio" has now become "consecratio," as though the King's office were committed to him by the Rite itself. Before it he is "rex futurus," but after being anointed he is "rex," or "rex ordinatus." The King now *promises* to observe the precepts of rule traditionally laid down. This service is marked by lofty theocratic language, and grace is asked for the King to "nourish and teach, to defend and instruct, the Church of the English."[1] Borrowed from England through Alcuin, the French rite followed this prayer verbally, and continued to speak of the sway of Saxons, Mercians and Northumbrians. The Mass now *followed* the Coronation.

A third Order, Norman or early Plantagenet,

[1] So in the "Laws of the Confessor" it is said that "the Vicar of the most High King is set for this that he may rule and defend the kingdom and people of the land, and, above all, Holy Church."

is marked by the first appearance of the sacred chrism as distinguished from the oil.

A fourth, that of the famous *Liber Regalis* preserved at Westminster, though in some respects returning to an earlier model, brought the service to an elaborate perfection, which set the standard for France as well as England, and has remained the basis of all subsequent Coronations.

Strange though it may seem, the English Reformation, when indeed the tendency was to magnify kings, and the Revolution left little mark on the service. The Tudors were all crowned with the Latin Mass and the ancient rites. Some of these may have been omitted for Edward VI., in order, it was said, to shorten the service, and for Elizabeth; but if so, they were revived by the Stuart Sovereigns. Archbishop Whitgift, in 1603, "faithfully observed the forme sett doune in the auncient Booke kept at Westminster," and Charles I.'s was an even more careful and conservative Coronation. "My Lords," said Laud at his trial, "I had liturgies all I could get, both ancient and modern." From the seventeenth century, however, dates the use of the English tongue and of the reformed Order of Holy Communion, as well as the disuse of the double anointing with oil and chrism. Charles II.'s Coronation, Clarendon says, was performed "with the greatest solemnity and glory that ever any

had been." That learned liturgiologist, the late Marquess of Bute, in his *Scottish Coronations*, 1902, though greatly prejudiced against Anglican Sacrings, observes that "the variations in the pre-Reformation times were greater than those which separate the form used for Queen Victoria from that embodied in the *Liber Regalis*."

Whatever lowering there may have been of the tone and ceremoniousness of the Rite has to be ascribed to a Roman Catholic Sovereign, James II., and to his dislike of such high pretensions in the Church from which he had perforce to receive consecration. At the Coronation of four years later parties were too delicately balanced to allow William, even if he wished it, to mutilate the service any more. It was not till William IV. that further serious changes were made. The Reform agitation was then at its height; the Whig Government were afraid of their democratic supporters, by whom the Rite was freely denounced as puerile and superstitious mummery.[1] Earl Grey wished the King to tell the Council that the mystic ceremonies were altogether at variance with the genius of modern times; but, under pressure from Wellington,[2] Brougham and

[1] See *Memoirs of the Courts and Cabinets of William IV. and Victoria*, by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, i. 332. In 1838 also the barbarous and antiquated nature of the Rite was urged in official quarters as a reason for parsimony; *ibid.*, ii. 336.

[2] One example of this is the alteration from 1685 of the phrase "administer the Body" into "administer the Bread."

Archbishop Howley, the King announced that he would be crowned to satisfy tender consciences, desiring, however, that his Coronation might be short, and everything dispensed with except the service in the church. He especially wished the Homage not to take place. The cost was fixed at a sixth of that of the preceding Coronation. The Rite suffered a number of disfigurements, but the greatest loss was that of the solemn liturgical Procession of the Estates from Westminster Hall to the choir of the church, with which omission economy can have had little to do. To wrap up the insignia of monarchy in brown holland and green baize seemed, throughout the earlier nineteenth century, a statesmanlike wisdom, against which the Gothic and romanticist movement of the time only slowly made head. The opposing Cobdenite and mediæval enthusiasms are both rather out of fashion now; but few will desire that the unimpressive precedents of the thirties—a time when Churchmanship had reached its nadir of decay and civil pageantry its lowest point of slovenliness—should be stereotyped as the exemplar and model for future Coronations.

The Coronation of 1902 was carefully drawn up in a conservative and reverent, though somewhat timid, spirit, but the service suffered some further impairments, such as the loss of the First Oblation, of the Proper Preface, the Princely

Largess, and the uncurtailed Homage, against which must be set the restoration of the anointing on the King's breast and a number of minor improvements. The main losses of the Rite, however, were not repaired. The 1911 Order follows the same lines, except for the restoration of an ancient prayer, *Coronet te Deus*, the reinsertion of the Proper Preface, in an enfeebled form, the restoration of the duty of consecrating the Consort to the Primate of All England, and certain lesser changes. The tense is altered throughout—*e.g.* "shall begin" for "beginneth."

A point of much delicacy and difficulty arises in the present day owing to the continued following of the precedent set in 1689, whereby the consecration of the King, instead of preceding the celebration of Holy Communion, is part of it. This, a great gain in some respects, has the grave drawback of the enforced presence of large numbers of invited non-Christians at the performance of "these holy Mysteries." Nor can it be said that due proportion is observed between the impressiveness of their celebration and the Solemnity which, rightly understood, is a subordinate incident therein.[1]

[1] One newspaper account of the last Coronation recorded that, after the resumption of the Eucharistic Offering, "the rest of the proceedings were of comparatively little interest."

THE FORM AND ORDER OF A CORONATION

ROYAL CORONATION OF THEIR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIES KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA

THE PROCEEDING

FROM THE WEST DOOR OF THE ABBEY INTO THE CHOIR.

(I) *STATE PROCESSION:*

Chaplains in Ordinary (twelve).

Sub-Dean of the Chapels Royal.

Rev. Canon Hervey. Dean of Windsor.

The Prebendaries of Westminster (five).

Dean of Westminster.

Athlone Pursuivant. Fitzalan Pursuivant. Unicorn Pursuivant.

March Pursuivant. Carrick Pursuivant.

Officer of Arms of St. Michael and St. George. Registrar to the Order of St. Michael and St. George. Gentleman Usher of the Scarlet Rod.

Gentleman Usher of the Green Rod. Secretary to the Order of the Star of India.

Secretary to the Order of St. Patrick. Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. Secretary to the Order of the Thistle.

Rothesay Herald.

Comptroller of the Household.

The Standard of Ireland,
borne by
The Right Hon. O'Conor Don.

Albany Herald.

Treasurer of the Household.

The Standard of Scotland,
borne by
Henry Scrymgeour
Wedderburn, Esq.,
Hereditary Standard Bearer of
Scotland.

The Standard of England, borne by
Frank S. Dymoke, Esq. (King's Champion).

The Union Standard, borne by
The Duke of Wellington;
his Coronet carried by his Page.

The Vice-Chamberlain of the Household.

The Keeper of the Crown Jewels, General Sir Hugh Gough, bearing on a cushion the two Ruby Rings and the Sword for the Offering.

The Four Knights of the Order of the Garter appointed to hold the Canopy for the King's Anointing:—

The Earl Cadogan,
The Earl of Derby,
The Earl of Rosebery,
Earl Spencer,
their Coronets carried by their Pages.

The Acting Lord Chamberlain
of the Household,
The Lord Steward of the
Household,
their Coronets carried by their Pages.

The Lord Privy Seal
(The Right Hon. A. J.
Balfour),
attended by
a Gentleman.

The Lord President of the
Council,
his Coronet carried by
his Page.

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
attended by his Purse-bearer; his Coronet carried by his Page.

The Lord Archbishop of York,
attended by a Gentleman of his Household.

The Lord High Chancellor,
The Earl of Halsbury,
attended by his Purse-bearer; his Coronet carried by his Page.

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
attended by two Gentlemen of his Household.

(II) *THE QUEEN'S PROCESSION:*

Portcullis Pursuivant. Windsor Herald. Rouge Dragon Pursuivant.

THE QUEEN'S REGALIA.

The Ivory Rod with the Dove, borne by the Earl of Gosford;

The Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household, Viscount Colville (of Culross);

The Sceptre with the Cross, borne by Lord Harris;

their Coronets carried by their Pages.

Sergeant-at-Arms.

Her Majesty's Crown, borne by the Duke of Roxburghe; his Coronet carried by his Page.

Sergeant-at-Arms.

Sub-officer, five Gentlemen-at-Arms.

The Bishop of Oxford.

THE QUEEN
in her Royal Robes,
Her Majesty's Train borne by the Duchess of Buccleuch,
Mistress of the Robes,
assisted by eight Pages of Honour;

The Bishop of Norwich.

Clerk of the Cheque and Adjutant and five Gentlemen-at-Arms.

the Coronet of the Mistress of the Robes carried by her Page.

Ladies of the Bedchamber in Waiting (four).

Women of the Bedchamber (four).

Maids of Honour (four).

Equerry. Treasurer.

(III) *THE KING'S PROCESSION:*

Bluemantle Pursuivant. Richmond Herald. Rouge Croix Pursuivant.

THE KING'S REGALIA.

St. Edward's Staff, borne by the Earl Carrington.

The Sceptre with the Cross, borne by the Duke of Argyll, Hereditary Master of His Majesty's Household in Scotland.

A Golden Spur, borne by the Lord Grey de Ruthyn.

A Golden Spur, borne by the Earl of Loudoun.

The Third Sword, borne by the Viscount Wolseley;

Curtana, borne by the Duke of Grafton;

The Second Sword, borne by the Earl Roberts;

their Coronets carried by their Pages.

Norroy King of Arms, in his Tabard and Collar, and Crown in his hand (Somerset Herald, acting for Norroy).

Ulster King of Arms, in his Tabard and Collar, carrying his Crown and Sceptre.

Lyon King of Arms, in his Tabard and Collar, carrying his Crown and Sceptre.

Clarenceux King of Arms, in his Tabard and Collar, and Crown in his hand (York Herald, acting for Clarenceux).

The Lord Mayor of London, in his Robe, Collar, and Jewel, bearing the City Mace.

Deputy Garter King of Arms, in his Tabard and Collar, carrying his Crown and Sceptre.

Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.

The Lord Great Chamberlain of England,
The Marquess of Cholmondeley.

The High Constable of Ireland, the Duke of Abercorn,

The High Constable of Scotland, the Earl of Erroll.

The Lord High Steward of Ireland, the Earl of Shrewsbury, with his White Staff;

The Lord High Steward of Scotland, the Earl of Crawford as Deputy to His Royal Highness the Duke of Rothesay (the Prince of Wales);

their Coronets carried by their Pages.

The Earl Marshal of England, the Duke of Norfolk, with his Baton, attended by his two Pages.

The Sword of State, borne by the Marquess of Londonderry; his Coronet carried by his Page.

The Lord High Constable of England, the Duke of Fife, with his Staff, attended by his two Pages.

The Sceptre with the Dove, borne by the Earl of Lucan; his Coronet carried by his Page.

St. Edward's Crown, borne by the Duke of Marlborough, Lord High Steward, attended by his two Pages.

The Orb, borne by the Duke of Somerset; his Coronet carried by his Page.

The Patina, borne by the Lord Bishop of Ely.

The Bible, borne by the Lord Bishop of London.

The Chalice, borne by the Lord Bishop of Winchester,

Standard Bearer (Colonel A. Fife) and ten Gentlemen-at-Arms.

The Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.

THE KING
in His Royal Crimson Robe of State,
wearing the Collar of the Garter,
on his Head the Cap of State,
His Majesty's Train borne by
eight Eldest Sons of Peers,
assisted by Lord Suffield, the Master of the Robes,
his Coronet carried by his Page,
and followed by the Groom of the Robes.

The Lord Bishop of Durham.

Lieutenant (Colonel Sir Henry Oldham) and ten Gentlemen-at-Arms.

The Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom.

The Master of the Horse; his Coronet carried by his Page.

The Gold Stick in Waiting; his Coronet carried by his Page.

The Duke of Buccleuch,
Captain-General of the Royal Archer Guard of Scotland,
and Gold Stick of Scotland;
his Coronet carried by his Page.

General Sir A. Gaselee.

Admiral Sir Edward Seymour.

General Viscount Kitchener; his Coronet carried by his Page.

Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard;

Captain of Hon. Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms;
their Coronets carried by their Pages.

The Groom in Waiting.

Private Secretary to the King; his Coronet carried by his Page.

Keeper of His Majesty's Privy Purse.

Comptroller Lord Chamberlain's Department.

Crown Equerry.

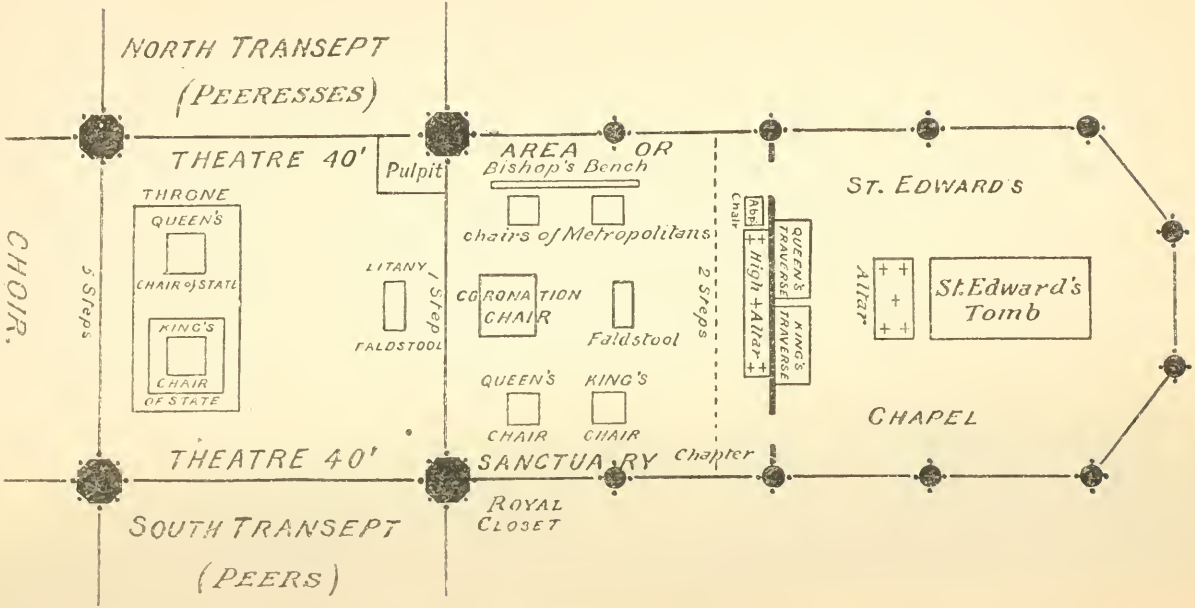
Equerries to the King (two).

Ensign and Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard.

Exons of the Yeomen of the Guard (four).

Clerk of the Cheque to the Yeomen of the Guard.

Twenty Yeomen of the Guard.


NORTH TRANSEPT
(PEERESSES)
THEATRE 40'
Pulpit
AREA OR
Bishop's Bench
ST. EDWARD'S
THRONE
QUEEN'S
CHAIR of STATE
KING'S
CHAIR
OF STATE
CHOIR
5 Steps
LITANY
FALDSTOOL
1 Step
chairs of Metropolitans
CORONATION
CHAIR
Faldstool
2 Steps
Abbot
Chair
High Altar
QUEEN'S
TRAVERSE
KING'S
TRAVERSE
Altar
St. Edward's
Tomb
QUEEN'S
CHAIR
KING'S
CHAIR
CHAPEL
THEATRE 40'
SANCTUARY
Chapter
ROYAL
CLOSET
SOUTH TRANSEPT
(PEERS)

THE FORM & ORDER OF THE SERVICE TO BE PERFORMED AND OF THE CEREMONIES TO BE OBSERVED IN THE CORONATION OF THEIR MAJESTIES KING GEORGE V. AND QUEEN MARY IN THE ABBEY CHURCH OF S. PETER, WESTMINSTER,[1] ON THURSDAY, THE 22ND DAY OF JUNE, 1911.[1][2]

CAP. I

THE PREPARATION

IN the morning[3] *upon the day of the Coronation early, care is to be taken that the* Ampulla *be filled with Oil and, together with the* Spoon,[4] *be laid ready upon the Altar in the Abbey-Church.*

The Archbishops and Bishops Assistant being already vested in their Copes, the Procession shall be formed immediately outside of the West Door of the Church, and shall wait till notice is given of the approach of their Majesties, and shall then begin to move into the Church.

[1] The Form and Order here given is, save in a few details, the same as the one which was drawn up for the Coronation fixed for June 26, 1902. A Special Form was actually used for the deferred Rite on August 9, 1902, the changes in which are here indicated by square brackets and footnotes. The numerals in dark type refer to the Notes at the end of the Service.

CAP. II

The Entrance into the Church

The King and Queen [*as soon as they enter at the West Door of the Church*] *are to be received* 5 *with the following Anthem,* 6 *to be sung by the Choir of* Westminster.

Anthem

Psalm cxxii. 1. I WAS glad when they said unto me, We
— 2. will go into the house of the Lord. Our
feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem.
— 3. Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in
— 6. itself. O pray for the peace of Jerusalem:
— 7. they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be
within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy
palaces.

The King and the Queen shall in the meantime pass up the Body of the Church, into and through the Choir, and so up the stairs to the Theatre; 7 *and having passed by their Thrones,* 8[1] *they shall make their humble adoration,* 9 *and then kneeling at the Faldstools set for them before their Chairs of Estate on the south side of the Altar, use some short private prayers; and after, sit down in their Chairs.*

[1] The 1902 Special Form adds: "The King removing his Cap and handing it to the Lord Great Chamberlain."

CAP. III

The Recognition [10]

The King and Queen being so placed, the Archbishop [11] [*shall turn to the East part of the Theatre, and after, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord High Constable and Earl Marshal* (*Garter King-of-Arms preceding them*), *shall go to the other three sides of the Theatre in this order, South, West, and North, and at every of the four sides*] *shall with a loud voice speak to the People: And the King in the meanwhile, standing* [12] *up by his Chair, shall turn and show himself unto the People* [*at every of the four sides of the Theatre, as the Archbishop is at every of them, the Archbishop saying:*]

SIRS, I here present unto you King GEORGE, the Undoubted King of this Realm: Wherefore All you who are come this day to do your Homage, Are you willing to do the same? [13]

The People signify their willingness and joy by loud and repeated acclamations, [14] *all with one voice crying out,*

God save King GEORGE.

Then the Trumpets shall sound. [15]

[*The Bible, Paten and Chalice shall be brought by the Bishops who had borne them, and placed upon the Altar.*]

CAP. IV

The Litany 16

The Lords who carry in procession the Regalia, *except those who carry the Swords, shall come near to the Altar, and present in order every one what he carries to the Archbishop, who shall deliver them to the Dean of* Westminster, *to be by him placed upon the Altar.*

Then followeth the Litany,[1] *to be sung by two Bishops, vested in Copes, and kneeling at a Faldstool on the middle of the east side of the Theatre, the Choir singing the responses.*

O God the Father, of heaven: etc., to

Lord, have mercy upon us,
Lord, have mercy upon us.

[*The Bishops who have sung the Litany shall then return to their places.*[2]]

[1] In an abbreviated form, and without the last part. This Litany, in August 1902, was sung instead in St. Edward's Chapel at the consecration of the Oil, before their Majesties' arrival.

[2] The 1902 Special Form says here: "His Majesty will sit down."

CAP. V

The Beginning of the Communion Service

The Introit 17

LET my prayer come up into thy presence as the incense: and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice. Psalm v. 2.

Then shall the Archbishop begin the Communion Service, 18 *saying,*

The Lord be with you.

Answer,

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

O GOD, who providest for thy people by thy power, and rulest over them in love: Grant unto this thy servant GEORGE, our King,[1] the Spirit of wisdom and government; that, being devoted unto thee with all his heart, he may so wisely govern this kingdom, that in his time thy Church and people may continue in safety and prosperity; and that, persevering in good works unto the end, he may through thy mercy come to thine

[1] Archbishop Temple's copy of the Aug. 1902 Form interpolates the words: "For whose recovery we now give thee heartfelt thanks."

everlasting kingdom; through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord. *Amen.*

The Epistle,[19]

To be read by one of the Bishops.

1 S. Pet. ii. 13

SUBMIT yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: etc.

The Gospel,

To be read by another Bishop, the King and Queen with the people standing.

S. Matth. xxii. 15

THEN went the Pharisees and took counsel, etc.

Then followeth the Nicene *Creed, the King and Queen with the people standing, as before.*

I BELIEVE in one God, etc.

[CAP. VI

THE SERMON[20]

At the end of the Creed one of the Bishops shall be ready in the Pulpit,[21] *placed against the pillar at the north-east corner of the Theatre, and begin the Sermon, which is to be short, and suitable to the great occasion.*

And whereas the King was uncovered during the saying of the Litany and the beginning of the

Communion Service; when the Sermon begins he shall put on his Cap of crimson velvet turned up with ermins, and so continue to the end of it.

On his right hand shall stand the Bishop of Durham, *and beyond him, on the same side, the Lords that carry the Swords; On his left hand the Bishop of* Bath *and* Wells, *and the Lord Great Chamberlain.*

The two Bishops that support the Queen shall stand on either side of her.

On the north side of the Altar shall sit the Archbishop in a purple velvet Chair,[22] *and the other Bishops along the north side of the wall, betwixt him and the Pulpit. On the south side, east of the King's Chair, nearer to the Altar, shall be the Dean of* Westminster, *the rest of the Bishops, who bear any part in the Service, and the Prebendaries of* Westminster.]

CAP. VII

The Oath

[*His Majesty having already on Monday, the 6th day of February* 1911, *in the presence of the two Houses of Parliament, made and*

signed the Declaration prescribed 23], *the Archbishop shall, after the Sermon is ended, go to the King,*[1] *and, standing before him, administer*

The Oath. *the Coronation Oath, first asking the King,*

Sir, is your Majesty willing to take the Oath? 24

And the King answering,

I am willing,

The Archbishop shall minister these questions; and the King, having a Book in his hands, shall answer each Question severally as follows. 25

Archb. Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the People of this United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the respective Laws and Customs of the same?

King. I solemnly promise so to do.

Archb. Will you to your power cause Law and Justice, in Mercy, to be executed in all your Judgments?

King. I will.

Archb. Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant

[1] The 1902 Special Form adds: "Who is seated in his Chair."

Reformed Religion established by Law? And will you maintain and preserve inviolably the Settlement of the Church of *England*, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, as by Law established in *England?* And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of *England*, and to the Churches there committed to their charge, all such Rights and Privileges, as by Law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them?

King. All this I promise to do.

Then the King arising out of his Chair,[1] [*supported as before, and assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Sword of State being carried before him,*] *shall* [*go to the Altar, and there being uncovered,*] *make his Solemn Oath in the sight of all the People, to observe the Premisses: Laying his right hand upon the Holy Gospel* 26 *in the Great Bible, which was before carried in the Procession and is now brought from the Altar by the Archbishop,* [*and tendered to him as he kneels upon the steps*],27 *saying these words:* The Bible to be brought.

The things which I have here before promised, I will perform, and keep.

So help me God.

Then the King shall kiss the Book, and sign 28 *the* Oath. And a Silver Standish.

[1] The 1902 Special Form adds: "And kneeling at his Faldstool."

CAP. VIII

The Anointing

The King, having thus taken his Oath,[1] [*shall return again to his Chair; and, both he and the Queen kneeling at their Faldstools,*] *the Archbishop shall begin the Hymn,* Veni Creator **29** Spiritus, *and the Choir shall sing it out.*

Hymn

COME, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
And lighten with celestial fire.
Thou the anointing Spirit art,
Who dost thy seven-fold gifts impart.
Thy blessed Unction from above
Is comfort, life, and fire of love.
Enable with perpetual light
The dulness of our blinded sight:
Anoint and cheer our soiled face
With the abundance of thy grace:
Keep far our foes, give peace at home;
Where thou art guide no ill can come.
Teach us to know the Father, Son,
And thee, of both, to be but one;
That, through the ages all along,
This may be our endless song:
Praise to thy eternal merit,
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

[1] The 1902 Special Form adds: "And being again seated."

This being ended, the Archbishop shall say this Prayer: 30

O LORD, Holy Father, who by anointing with Oil didst of old make and consecrate kings, priests, and prophets, to teach and govern thy people Israel: Bless and sanctify thy chosen servant GEORGE, who by our office and ministry is now to be anointed with this Oil, and consecrated King of this Realm: Strengthen him, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter; Confirm and stablish him with thy free and princely Spirit, the Spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the Spirit of knowledge and true godliness, and fill him, O Lord, with the Spirit of thy holy fear, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Here the Archbishop is to lay his hand upon the Ampulla. 31

This Prayer being ended, the Choir shall sing:

ANTHEM

ZADOK the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed Solomon king; and all the people rejoiced and said: God save the king, Long live the king, May the king live for ever. Amen. Hallelujah. 1 Kings i. 39, 40.

In the meantime, the King [rising from his devotions], having been disrobed of his Crimson Robe by the Lord Great Chamberlain,

[*and having taken off his Cap of State, shall go before the Altar, supported and attended as before.*

The King] *shall sit down in King Edward's Chair* [32] (*placed in the midst of the* Area *over against the Altar, with a Faldstool before it*), *wherein he is to be anointed. Four Knights of the Garter* [33] *shall hold over him a rich Pall of Silk, or Cloth of Gold: The Dean of* Westminster, *taking the* Ampulla *and* Spoon *from off the Altar, shall hold them ready, pouring some of the Holy Oil into the Spoon, and with it the Archbishop shall anoint the King in the form of a Cross:*

1. *On the Crown of the Head, saying,*

Be thy Head anointed with Holy Oil, as kings, priests, and prophets were anointed.

2. *On the Breast, saying,*

Be thy Breast anointed with Holy Oil.

3. *On the Palms of both the Hands, saying,*

Be thy Hands anointed with Holy Oil:

And as Solomon was anointed king by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet, so be you anointed, blessed, and consecrated King over this People, whom the Lord your God hath given you to rule and govern, In the

Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then shall the Dean of Westminster *lay the* Ampulla *and* Spoon *upon the Altar*, [*and the King kneeling down at the Faldstool*], *the Archbishop, standing, shall say this Blessing over* [*him*][1]:

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who by his Father was anointed with the Oil of gladness above his fellows, by his Holy Anointing pour down upon your Head and Heart the blessing of the Holy Ghost, and prosper the works of your Hands: that by the assistance of his heavenly grace you may preserve the people committed to your charge in wealth, peace, and godliness; and after a long and glorious course of ruling this temporal kingdom wisely, justly, and religiously, you may at last be made partaker of an eternal kingdom, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

This Prayer being ended, the King shall arise 34 [*and sit down again in his seat* 35 *in King Edward's Chair*], *while the Knights of the Garter give back the Pall to the Lord Chamberlain;* [*whereupon the King again arising,*] *the Dean of* Westminster *shall put upon his*

[1] The 1902 Special Form: "the King, his Majesty remaining seated."

Majesty the Colobium Sindonis[36] *and the* Supertunica[37] *or* Close Pall of Cloth of Gold, *together with a* Girdle *of the same.*[1]

CAP. IX

The Presenting of the Spurs and Sword, and the Girding and Oblation of the said Sword.[38]

The Spurs. *The* Spurs[39] *shall be brought from the Altar by the Dean of* Westminster, *and delivered to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who, kneeling down, shall touch his Majesty's heels therewith, and send them back to the Altar.*

The Sword of State returned. *Then the Lord, who carries the* Sword of State, *delivering to the Lord Chamberlain the said Sword (which is thereupon deposited in the Traverse in Saint* Edward's *Chapel) shall receive from the Lord Chamberlain, in lieu thereof, another* Sword, *in a* Scabbard *of* Purple Velvet, *provided for the King to be girt withal,*[40] *which he shall deliver to the Archbishop;*[41] *and the Archbishop shall lay it on the Altar, saying the following Prayer:*

Another Sword brought:

HEAR our prayers, O Lord, we beseech thee, and so direct and support thy servant King GEORGE, who is now to be

[1] The 1902 Special Form adds: "The King then sits down."

girt with this Sword, that he may not bear it in vain; but may use it as the minister of God for the terror and punishment of evildoers, and for the protection and encouragement of those that do well, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then the Archbishop shall take the Sword *from off the Altar, and deliver it into the King's Right Hand, the Archbishop of* York *and the Bishops of* London *and* Winchester *and other Bishops assisting, and going along with him, and, the King holding it, the Archbishop shall say:*

Delivered to the King:

RECEIVE this Kingly Sword,[42] brought now from the Altar of God, and delivered to you by the hands of us the Bishops and servants of God, though unworthy.[43]

[*The King standing up, the* Sword *shall be girt about him by the Lord Great Chamberlain*];[1] *and then,* [*the King sitting down*], *the Archbishop shall say:*

Girt about the King.

WITH this Sword do justice, stop the growth of iniquity, protect the Holy Church of God, help and defend widows and orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain the things that are restored, punish and reform what is amiss, and confirm

Offered and redeemed.

[1] The 1902 Special Form leaves the words, but adds: "This will not actually be done." But King Edward was girded, though remaining seated.

what is in good order: that doing these things you may be glorious in all virtue; and so faithfully serve our Lord Jesus Christ in this life, that you may reign for ever with him in the life which is to come.

Then shall the King [*rising up,*] *ungird his Sword,*[1] *and,* [*going to the Altar, offer it there in the Scabbard,*[44] *and then return and sit down in King Edward's Chair*]: *and the Peer, who first received the Sword, shall offer the price of it, namely, one hundred shillings, and, having thus redeemed it,*[45] *shall receive it from the Dean of* Westminster, *from off the Altar, and draw it out of the Scabbard, and carry it naked before his Majesty*[46] *during the rest of the Solemnity.*

[*Then the Bishops who had assisted during the offering shall return to their places.*]

CAP. X

The Investing with the *Armill* and Royal Robe, and the Delivery of the Orb.[47]

The Armill and Royal Robe.

Then the King arising, the Armill[48] *and* Royal Robe *or* Pall of Cloth of Gold,[49]

[1] The Special Form substitutes: "giveth it to the Archbishop to be placed upon the Altar." In 1838 these words followed "scabbard."

shall be delivered by the Master of the Robes to the Dean of Westminster, *and by him put upon the King, standing; the Lord Great Chamberlain fastening the Clasps. Then the King shall sit down, and the* Orb *with the* Cross [50] *shall be brought from the Altar by the Dean of* Westminster, *and delivered into the King's hand by the Archbishop, pronouncing this Blessing and Exhortation:* The Orb.

RECEIVE this Imperial Robe, and Orb; and the Lord your God endue you with knowledge and wisdom, with majesty and with power from on high; the Lord embrace you with his mercy on every side; the Lord cloath you with the Robe of Righteousness, and with the garments of salvation. And when you see this Orb thus set under the Cross, remember that the whole world is subject to the Power and Empire of Christ our Redeemer.

Then shall the King deliver his Orb to the Dean of Westminster, *to be by him laid on the Altar.*

CAP. XI

The Investiture *per Annulum et Baculum* [51]

Then the Officer of the Jewel House shall deliver to the Archbishop the King's Ring, *in which* The Ring.

a Table Jewel is enchased; the Archbishop shall put it on the Fourth Finger of his Majesty's Right Hand,[52] *and say*,

RECEIVE this Ring, the ensign of Kingly Dignity, and of defence of the Catholick Faith;[53] and as you are this day solemnly invested in the government of this earthly kingdom, so may you be sealed with that Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of an heavenly inheritance, and reign with him who is the blessed and only Potentate, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Then shall the Dean of Westminster *bring the* Sceptre *with the* Cross *and the* Sceptre *with the* Dove *to the Archbishop*.[54]

The Glove. *The* Glove, *presented by the Lord of the Manour of* Worksop, *being put on, the Archbishop shall deliver the* Sceptre *with the* Cross *into the King's Right Hand, saying*,[55]

RECEIVE the Royal Sceptre, the ensign of Kingly Power and Justice.[56]

And then shall he deliver the Sceptre *with the* Dove[57] *into the King's Left Hand, and say*,

RECEIVE the Rod of Equity and Mercy: and God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, direct and assist you in the administration

and exercise of all those powers which he hath given you. Be so merciful that you be not too remiss; so execute Justice that you forget not Mercy. Punish the wicked, protect and cherish the just, and lead your people in the way wherein they should go.

[*The Lord of the Manour of* Worksop *may support his Majesty's Right Arm.*]

CAP. XII

The Putting on of the Crown [58]

The Archbishop, standing before the Altar, shall take the Crown [59] *into his hands,* [60] *and laying it again before him upon the Altar,* [61] *he shall say:* [62]

S. *Edward's* Crown.

O GOD, the Crown of the faithful: Bless we beseech thee and sanctify this thy servant GEORGE our King: and as thou dost this day set a Crown of pure Gold upon his Head, so enrich his Royal Heart with thine abundant grace, and crown him with all princely virtues, through the King Eternal Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Here the King must be put in mind to bow his Head.

Then [*the King sitting down in King* Edward's *Chair,*] *the Archbishop, assisted with other Bishops, shall come from the Altar; the Dean*

The King Crowned.

of Westminster *shall bring the* Crown, *and the Archbishop taking it of him, shall reverently put it upon the King's Head.* [*At the sight whereof the people, with loud and repeated shouts, shall cry,* God save the King; *the Peers and the Kings of Arms shall put on their Coronets;* 63 *and the Trumpets shall sound, and by a Signal given, the great Guns at the* Tower *shall be shot off.*64]

The Acclamation ceasing, the Archbishop shall go on, and say: 65

GOD crown you with a crown of glory and righteousness, that by the ministry of this our benediction, having a right faith and manifold fruit of good works, you may obtain the crown of an everlasting kingdom by the gift of him whose kingdom endureth for ever. *Amen.*

Then shall the Choir sing:

BE strong and play the man: Keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, and walk in his ways.

CAP. XIII

The Presenting of the Holy Bible 66

The Bible.

Then shall the Dean of Westminster *take the* Holy Bible *from off the Altar, and deliver*

it to the Archbishop, who shall present it to the King, first saying these words to him: 67

OUR Gracious King; we present you with this Book, the most valuable thing that this world affords. Here is Wisdom; This is the Royal Law; These are the lively Oracles of God.

Then shall the King[1] *deliver back the Bible to the Archbishop, who shall give it to the Dean of* Westminster, *to be reverently placed again upon the Holy Altar; and the Archbishop of York* 68 *and the Bishops shall return to their places.*

CAP. XIV

The Benediction 69

*And now the King having been thus anointed and crowned, and having received all the Ensigns of Royalty, the Archbishop shall solemnly bless him: And the Archbishop of York and all the Bishops,*70 *with the rest of the Peers, shall follow every part of the Benediction with a loud and hearty* Amen.

THE Lord bless you and keep you: and as he hath made you King over his people, so may he prosper you in this world, and make you partake of his eternal felicity in the world to come. *Amen.* The Benediction.

[1] The 1902 Special form adds: "touching the Bible."

The Lord give you a fruitful Country and healthful Seasons; victorious Fleets and Armies, and a quiet Empire; a faithful Senate, wise and upright Counsellors and Magistrates, a loyal Nobility, and a dutiful Gentry; a pious and learned and useful Clergy; an honest, industrious, and obedient Commonalty. *Amen.*

Then the Archbishop shall turn to the People, and say:

AND the same Lord God Almighty grant, that the Clergy and Nobles assembled here for this great and solemn Service, and together with them all the People of the land, fearing God, and honouring the King, may by the merciful superintendency of the divine Providence, and the vigilant care of our gracious Sovereign, continually enjoy peace, plenty, and prosperity; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with the Eternal Father, and God the Holy Ghost, be glory in the Church, world without end. *Amen.*[71]

CAP. XV

The Inthronization

Then shall the King go to his Throne, and be lifted up into it[72] *by the Archbishops and Bishops, and other Peers of the Kingdom;*

and being Inthronized, *or placed therein, all the Great Officers, those that bear the Swords and the Sceptres, and the Nobles who carried the other Regalia, shall stand round about the steps of the Throne; and the Archbishop standing before the King, shall say:* [73]

STAND firm, and hold fast from henceforth the Seat and State of Royal and Imperial Dignity, which is this day delivered unto you, in the Name and by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us the Bishops and servants of God, though unworthy: And as you see us to approach nearer to God's Altar, so vouchsafe the more graciously to continue to us your Royal favour and protection.[74] And the Lord God Almighty, whose Ministers we are, and the Stewards of his Mysteries, establish your Throne in righteousness, that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the sun before him, and as the faithful witness in heaven. *Amen.*

CAP. XVI

The Homage [75]

The Exhortation being ended, all the Princes and Peers [76] *then present shall do their homage publicly and solemnly unto the King.* The Homage.

Of the Bishops:

The Archbishop first shall kneel down before his Majesty's knees, and the rest of the Bishops shall kneel in their places: [77] *and they shall do their Homage together,* [78] *for the shortening of the ceremony, the Archbishop saying:*

I *Randall* Archbishop of *Canterbury* [*And so every one of the rest,* I *N.* Bishop of *N. repeating the rest audibly after the Archbishop*] will be faithful and true, and Faith and Truth will bear unto you our Sovereign Lord, and your Heirs Kings of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defenders of the Faith, and Emperors of India. And I will do, and truly acknowledge, the Service of the Lands I claim to hold of you, as in right of the Church. So help me God.

Then shall the Archbishop kiss the King's left Cheek. [79]

Then the Prince of Wales, [80] *taking off his Coronet, shall kneel down before his Majesty's knees, the rest of the Princes of the Blood Royal, being Peers of the Realm, kneeling in their places, taking off their Coronets, and pronouncing the words of Homage after him, the Prince of* Wales *saying:*

I *N.* Prince, or Duke, *etc.*, of *N.* do become your Liege man of Life and Limb, and of

earthly worship, and Faith and Truth I will bear unto you, to live and die, against all manner of folks. So help me God.

Then shall [*the Princes of the Blood Royal, being Peers of the Realm, arising*[1] *severally touch*] *the Crown on his Majesty's Head and kiss his Majesty's left Cheek. After which the other Peers of the Realm, who are then in their seats, shall kneel down, put off their Coronets, and do their Homage,* [*the Dukes first by themselves, and so the Marquesses, the Earls, the Viscounts, and the Barons, severally in their places*], *the first of each Order kneeling before his Majesty,* [*and the others of his Order who are near his Majesty, also kneeling in their places, and all of his Order saying after him*]:[2]

I *N.* Duke, or Earl, *etc.*, of *N.* do become your Liege man of Life and Limb, and of earthly worship, and Faith and Truth I will bear unto you, to live and die, against all manner of folks. So help me God.

The Peers having done their Homage, the first of each Order, [*putting off his Coronet, shall singly ascend the Throne again*],[3] *and*

[1] The 1902 Special Form: "the Prince of Wales arising touches . . . and kisses."
[2] The 1902 Special Form: "all saying together."
[3] The 1902 Special Form: "rising."

stretching forth his hand, touch the Crown on his Majesty's Head,[81] *as promising*[82] *by that Ceremony for himself and his Order to be ever ready to support it with all their power,*[83] *and then shall he kiss the King's Cheek.*[84]

While[85] *the Princes and Peers are thus doing their Homage, the King, if he thinks good, shall deliver his* Sceptre *with the* Cross *and the* Sceptre *or* Rod *with the* Dove, *to some one near to the* Blood Royal, *or to the Lords that carried them in the Procession, or to any other that he pleaseth to assign, to hold them by him.*

And the Bishops that support the King in the Procession may also ease him, by supporting the Crown, as there shall be occasion.

At the same time the Choir shall sing this Anthem.[86]

PSALM XXXIII. 1, 12–16, 18–22.

REJOICE in the Lord, O ye righteous: it becometh well the just to be thankful. Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance. The Lord looketh from heaven: he beholdeth all the sons of men. From the place of his habitation he looketh

upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their hearts alike; he considereth all their works. There is no king that can be saved by the multitude of an host: a mighty man is not delivered by much strength. Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him; upon them that hope in his mercy: to deliver their soul from death; and to feed them in the time of dearth.

Our soul hath patiently tarried for the Lord: for he is our help and our shield. Our heart shall rejoice in him: we have hoped in his Holy Name. Let thy merciful kindness, O Lord, be upon us, as we do put our trust in thee. Amen.

When the Homage is ended,[87] *the Drums shall beat, and the Trumpets sound, and all the People shout, crying out:*

God save King GEORGE.

Long live King GEORGE.

May the King live for ever.

The solemnity of the King's Coronation *being thus ended, the Archbishop shall leave the King in his Throne, and go to the Altar.*

CAP. XVII

The Queen's Coronation [88]

The Queen *shall arise and go to the steps of the Altar, supported by two Bishops, and there kneel down, whilst the Archbishop* [89] *saith the following Prayer:* [90]

ALMIGHTY God, the fountain of all goodness: Give ear, we beseech thee, to our prayers, and multiply thy blessings upon this thy servant MARY, whom in thy Name, with all humble devotion, we consecrate our Queen; Defend her evermore from dangers, ghostly and bodily; Make her a great example of virtue and piety, and a blessing to this kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee, O Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, world without end. *Amen.*

The Anointing.

This Prayer being ended, the Queen shall arise, and come to the place of her Anointing: [91] *Which is to be at a Faldstool set for that purpose before the* Altar, *between the steps and King* Edward's *Chair. There shall she kneel down,* [92] *and four Peeresses appointed for that service holding a rich Pall of Cloth of Gold over her,* [93] *the Archbishop shall pour*

the Holy Oil upon the Crown of her Head,[94] *saying these words:*

IN the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Let the anointing with this Oil increase your honour, and the grace of God's Holy Spirit establish you, for ever and ever. Amen.

Then[95] *shall the Archbishop receive from the Keeper of the Jewel Office the Queen's* Ring, *and put it upon the Fourth Finger of her Right Hand, saying:*

RECEIVE[96] this Ring, the seal of a sincere Faith; and God, to whom belongeth all power and dignity, prosper you in this your honour, and grant you therein long to continue, fearing him always, and always doing such things as shall please him, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. The Ring.

Then shall the Archbishop take the Crown from off the Altar into his hands, and reverently set it upon the Queen's Head,[97] *saying:* The Crown.

RECEIVE the Crown of glory, honour, and joy: And God the Crown of the faithful, who by our Episcopal hands (though unworthy) doth this day set a Crown of pure Gold upon your head, enrich your Royal

Heart with his abundant grace, and crown you with all princely virtues in this life, and with everlasting gladness in the life that is to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Queen being crowned[98] *all the Peeresses shall put on their Coronets.*

The Sceptre and Ivory Rod.

Then shall the Archbishop put the Sceptre into the Queen's Right Hand, and the Ivory Rod with the Dove into her Left Hand[99]*; and say this Prayer:*

O LORD, the giver of all perfection: Grant unto this thy servant MARY our Queen, that by the powerful and mild influence of her piety and virtue, she may adorn the high dignity which she hath obtained, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Queen being thus Anointed, *and* Crowned, *and having received all her Ornaments,*[100] *shall arise and go from the Altar, supported by her two Bishops, and so up to the Theatre. And as she passeth by the King on his Throne, she shall bow herself reverently to his Majesty,*[101] *and then be conducted to her own Throne, and without any further Ceremony take her place in it.*[102]

CAP. XVIII

The Communion

Then shall the Organ play and the Choir sing the Offertory: 103

The Offertory.

O HEARKEN thou unto the voice of my calling, my King and my God: for unto thee will I make my prayer.104

*In the meanwhile the King and Queen shall deliver their Sceptres to the Lords who had previously borne them, and descend from their Thrones, supported and attended as before; and go to [the steps[1] of] the Altar, where, taking off their Crowns,*105 *which they shall deliver to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and [other appointed Officer[2]] to hold, they shall kneel down.*

The King offers Bread and Wine.

And first the King *shall offer* Bread *and* Wine 106 *for the Communion, which being brought out of Saint* Edward's *Chapel, and delivered into his hands (the Bread upon the Paten by the Bishop that read the Epistle, and the Wine in the Chalice by the Bishop that read the*

[1] The 1902 Special Form: "their faldstools before."

[2] The 1902 Special Form: "the King's Lord Chamberlain."

Gospel), *shall by the Archbishop be received from the King, and reverently placed upon the Altar, and decently covered with a fair linen Cloth,*[107] *the Archbishop first saying this Prayer:* [108]

BLESS, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use, that by them we may be made partakers of the Body and Blood of thine only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, and fed unto everlasting life of soul and body: And that thy servant King GEORGE may be enabled to the discharge of his weighty office, whereunto of thy great goodness thou hast called and appointed him. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

A Pall or Altar-cloth.

An Ingot of Gold.

Then the King kneeling, as before, shall make his Oblation,[109] *offering a* Pall *or* Altar-cloth, *delivered by the Officer of the Great Wardrobe to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and by him, kneeling, to his Majesty, and an* Ingot *or* Wedge *of* Gold *of a pound weight, which the Treasurer of the Household shall deliver to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and he to his Majesty; And the Archbishop coming to him, shall receive and place them upon the Altar.*

The Queen also at the same time shall make her Oblation of a Pall *or* Altar-cloth, *and a* Mark *weight of* Gold, *in like manner as the King.* The Queen offers.

Then [*shall*] *the King and Queen* [*return*[1] *to their Chairs*,[110] *and kneel down at their Faldstools*,[111] *and*] *the Archbishop shall say:*

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.[112]

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, etc.

The Exhortation [113]

YE that do truly, etc.

The general Confession

ALMIGHTY God, etc.

The Absolution

ALMIGHTY God, etc.

After which shall be said,

Hear what comfortable words, etc.

After which the Archbishop shall proceed, saying,

Lift up your hearts.

Answer

We lift them up unto the Lord.

[1] The 1902 Special Form: "remaining at their Faldstools or in their Chairs."

Archbishop

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer

It is meet and right so to do.

Then shall the Archbishop turn to the Lord's Table, and say,

IT is very meet, right, [114] . . . everlasting God: Who by thy providence dost govern all things both in heaven and earth, and hast shewn mercy this day to these thine anointed servants, our King and our Queen, and hast given them to us thy people that under them we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

Therefore with Angels, etc.

Holy, holy, holy, etc.

The Prayer of Humble Access

WE do not presume, etc.

The Prayer of Consecration

ALMIGHTY God, etc.

The King and Queen communicate.

When the Archbishops, *and* Dean *of* Westminster, [*with the* Bishops Assistants, *namely, the* Preacher, *and those who read the Litany, and the Epistle* [115] *and Gospel,*] *have*

communicated in both kinds, the King and Queen shall [*advance to the steps of the Altar and*] *kneel down,*[116] *and the Archbishop shall administer the Bread, and the Dean of* Westminster *the Cup,*[117] *to them.*

At the Delivery of the Bread shall be said:

THE Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

At the Delivery of the Cup,[118]

THE Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

The King and Queen then put on their Crowns, and [*taking*] *the Sceptres in their hands again,* [*repair to their Thrones* [1]].

Then the Archbishop goeth on to the Post-Communion,[119] *saying,* Post-Communion.

OUR Father, etc.

Then this Prayer

O LORD and heavenly Father, etc.

Then shall be sung,

GLORY be to God on high, etc.

[1] The 1902 Special Form: "take the Sceptres . . . and remain in their Chairs until the Service is ended."

Then shall the Archbishop say,[120]

THE peace of God, etc.: And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

CAP. XIX

Then shall the Choir sing

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS,

WE praise thee, O God: etc.

CAP. XX

THE RECESS[121]

The Proceeding into Saint *Edward's* Chapel: Of the King:

IN the meantime, the King *attended and accompanied as before, the four Swords being carried before him,* [*shall descend from his Throne*] *Crowned, and carrying his* Sceptre *and* Rod *in his hands,* [*go into the Area*[122] *eastward of the Theatre, and*] *pass* [*on*] *through the Door on the* South side *of the* Altar *into Saint* Edward's Chapel;[1] *and as they pass by the Altar, the rest of the* Regalia, *lying upon it, are to be delivered by the Dean of* Westminster *to the Lords that carried them in the Procession, and so they*

[1] The Special Form inserts: "*Te Deum* being meanwhile sung."

shall proceed in State into the Chapel. The Queen *at the same time* [*descending*], *shall go in like manner into the same* Chapel *at the Door on the* North side *of the* Altar; *bearing her* Sceptre *in her Right Hand, and her* Ivory Rod *in her Left.* Of the Queen.

The King and Queen being come into the Chapel, the King standing before the Altar, shall deliver the Sceptre *with the* Dove *to the Archbishop, who shall lay it upon the Altar there.*[123] *And the* Golden Spurs *and* St. Edward's Staff *are given into the hands of the Dean of* Westminster, *and by him laid there also.*

His Majesty shall then be disrobed of his Royal Robe of State, and arrayed in his Royal Robe of Purple Velvet, and wearing his Imperial Crown shall then receive in his Left Hand the Orb *from the Archbishop.*[124]

Then their Majesties shall proceed through the Choir to the West Door of the Church,[125] *in the same way as they came, wearing their* Crowns: *the* King *bearing in his Right Hand the* Sceptre *with the* Cross, *and in his Left the* Orb; *the* Queen *bearing in her Right Hand her* Sceptre *with the* Cross, *and in her Left the* Ivory Rod *with the* Dove; *all Peers wearing their Coronets.*

NOTES ON THE CORONATION SERVICE

1 *The Abbey Church.*—See below, Excursus H.

2 *June* 22, 1902.—Queen Victoria was crowned on the eve of the festival of St. Peter. June 26 had been originally fixed (as it was also for King Edward VII.), but, that being the anniversary of George IV.'s decease, the day was changed. Probably it was not remembered that Oliver Cromwell was installed on June 26. The observance of Church fasts and festivals had fallen greatly into abeyance, but regret was felt by many that a vigil should have been chosen, which found expression in a sonnet by Isaac Williams.[1] From the earliest times until the Coronation of George I. a Sunday or holy day had been prescribed. The rubrick appears in William and Mary's Coronation Order, but was not, however, observed. Charles II., James II. and Anne were crowned on St. George's Day; Charles I. (like

[1] The twenty-eighth of any month was of old deemed unlucky, as a kind of repetition of Childermas (December 28). Edward IV. was to have been crowned on June 28, but the Rite was postponed till the morrow. But it was on Innocents' Day that the Abbey was founded.

Edward III.) on the Purification. "It must surely," writes Canon Wordsworth,[1] "have been with some admixture of tender and religious feeling that King Charles selected a day connected in a special manner with the name of Mary"—that newly-wedded daughter of France who is the "dear Heart" of his *Letters*.

James I. chose the festival of St. James, who gives his name to the English Court. Elizabeth's astrologer, Dr. Dee, chose a lucky day for her—viz. Sunday, January 15—a day long observed afterwards at the Abbey. The other Tudor Princes and eleven Norman and Plantagenet Kings were consecrated on a Sunday; Edward IV. on St. Peter and St. Paul's Day (June 29); Henry IV. (who desired to assert himself as the representative of the ancient line) on the day of the Confessor's translation; Richard II. on the vigil of St. Kenelm; Stephen on the feast of Stephen; the Conqueror on Christmas Day; Harold on the Epiphany; and the Confessor on Easter Day. John, having landed two days before, took the crown on Holy Thursday, which, it was prophesied, would be the day he should lose it:—

> "Is this *Ascension Day?* Did not the prophet
> Say that before *Ascension Day* at noon
> My crown I should give off? Even so I have."
> —SHAKESPEARE, *King John*, act v. scene 1.

[1] *Manner of the Coronation of King Charles the First*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. ii. p. 5.

One King, Henry III., was inaugurated (like Cromwell) on a Friday, but this was also the festival of SS. Simon and Jude; Henry V. on Passion Sunday, and his Queen, Katharine, also in Lent (when the banquet was entirely of countless sorts of fish), on their return from France, but it was "the daye of seynt Mathy the Apostle."

Short wintry days were unfavourable for the protracted ceremonies; yet it might be that there was no time to lose, and that a claimant to the throne must have as soon as possible the sanction and blessing of Holy Church and the "recognition" of the great feudatories. Harold II. was consecrated on the day of the Confessor's obsequies, which was the morrow of his death. Rufus let but sixteen days intervene; Henry Beauclerk—"the first royal burial, the first royal consecration, within the newly-hallowed temple" (Freeman)—only two.

"At that time," says Fuller, "the present providing of good swords was accounted more essential to a King's Coronation than the long preparing of gay clothes."

Stephen was crowned on the twenty-fifth day; Henry III. on the ninth. Edward III. allowed eleven days to lapse; Richard II. twenty-four; Henry IV. fourteen; Henry V. three weeks; Richard III. ten days. These were the shortest

intervals. Henry VII., who was crowned on the battlefield of Bosworth, by Lord Stanley, with his dead rival's circlet, found beneath a thorn-bush, and who claimed the throne by conquest, received his anointing and ceremonial coronation nine weeks later. The same number of weeks passed between his death and Henry VIII.'s consecration. Edward VI., whom his father, following Henry II.'s example, had designed to have crowned before his own decease, was actually crowned three weeks after it. Of subsequent Sovereigns till George III., the shortest time which elapsed between accession and coronation was in the case of Anne, viz. six weeks; the longest in the case of Charles I., whose Coronation was delayed by the plague for ten months, and in that of Charles II., delayed for eleven months by the necessity of making new regalia. Stanley falls into an unaccountable error when he says:[1] "The Coronation of James I., like that of Elizabeth, took place nearly a year after his accession," with, in the margin, "St. James's Day, February 25, 1603." It is remarkable that a Dean should have forgotten that St. James's Day is in July. James was, in reality, crowned just three months after Elizabeth's death, and Elizabeth herself two months after her sister's.

George III. allowed eleven months to elapse;

[1] *Westminster Abbey*, p. 87.

he was young, and was waiting for his bride. In the case of George IV. an interval of six was converted by the suit against his Queen into one of eighteen months. William IV. wished to dispense with Coronation, and made Court mourning a plea for waiting for a year and a quarter, though he had crowned himself on the day he went to dissolve Parliament. Queen Victoria was crowned fifty-three weeks after accession. The *Law Times* of February 16, 1901, says :—

"The delay was probably due to the need of ascertaining with certainty that no issue would be born of the King's Consort. And, moreover, it is reported, with some aspect of credibility, that Her Majesty was so slight as to be at an earlier date unable to bear, for the necessarily long period the Coronation involves, the weight of the Regalia."

The unusually protracted postponement of the last solemnity must be ascribed to special circumstances, first to the absence in distant parts of the Empire of the Heir Apparent, and then to the King's critical illness on the eve of his Coronation. A still longer time elapsed in the case of the first Edward, who was crusading in the Holy Land when Henry III. died. But there was no one to dispute the succession ; he was proclaimed without opposition in the new Temple Church, and fealty was sworn to the absent King with hand laid on his father's tomb. The precedent thus created was followed by Edward II., who deferred

his consecration nearly eight months till he could be crowned with Isabella. At a still earlier date Edgar the Peaceable succeeded in 957, but for some unexplained reason was "consecrated as King with great pomp at Bath" in 973, sixteen years later, dying in 975.

Although the maxim laid down long ago by Finch, Dyer, Anderson, and many others, that "the King never dies," is beyond dispute, yet it was not till 1 Edward VI., cap. 7, that it was clearly enacted that "the King who is heir or successor may write and begin his reign the said day that his progenitor or predecessor died." In early times it is established that the regnal years of each King were counted from his Coronation only.[1] Yet although it is very desirable that each new Sovereign should receive the "recognition" and homage of his subjects, and also the consecration of religion, as soon as possible, so that the Coronation may not become a mere show and pageant, nevertheless, neither in law nor in divinity is this essential. The Church will often add her hallowing benediction to a marriage civilly contracted, but she regards the union as already accomplished. It is something the same with Accession and Coronation.

[1] See Sir Harris Nicolas's *Chronology of History*, 1851, p. 283 *et seq.*

CAP. I

3 *In the Morning.*—King Edward VII., like Queen Victoria, reached the Church at half-past eleven. George III. entered the Abbey an hour late (but the fault was not his), at half-an-hour after noon; William IV. at eleven. The ancient precedents, however, for the beginning of the preliminary ceremonies in Westminster Hall said "vj of the clokke." So down to Henry VIII.; but Mary Tudor did not reach King Edward's chair till between ten and eleven. Richard II., poor child! who had heard Divine Service before the Coronation, was at the close "borne on knights' shoulders into his palace, and so had to his chamber, where he rested awhile, being somewhat faint with travell, and took a small refection" (Holinshed).

4 *The Ampulla and Spoon.*—These are, in substance, the two most ancient portions of the Regalia, having escaped destruction by the Parliament in 1649. The reason of their preservation is that they were kept with the other sacramental vessels at the Abbey (as all the Regalia had been till Henry VIII.) instead of at the Tower. The Ampull, or Eglet, is possibly the one used to anoint the first Lancastrian King, and the Spoon is even assigned to the twelfth century. Both, however, underwent some remaking and chasing

at the Restoration,[1] and the Spoon, which was at one time enamelled, has recently been regilded. The Ampull was originally of lapis lazuli, with a golden eagle on the top encircled with pearls and diamonds. It stands 9 inches high, and the wings are 7 inches across. The sacred oil, of which it holds 6 ounces, comes out at the beak. The head screws off.

At the earliest Anglo-Saxon Coronations described to us a horn was used (as by Samuel in anointing Saul).

The *Sainte Ampoule* of France is related to have been sent from heaven for the christening (or, as later writers assert, the coronation: but he is said to have been baptized confirmed and crowned all in one night) of Clovis on Christmas Eve, A.D. 496. The clerk carrying the chrismatory of St. Remigius, who had brought the King to holy Baptism, not being able to reach him for the press, the Bishop lifted up his eyes in his distress to God, "prayenge hym deuoutly of helpe. Thenne therwyth came flyeng down a doue as whyt as mylke, and that was the holy ghoost, berynge in her bylle a vyole ful of creme to the bysshop, and whan he openyd the vyole there out came so swete a smelle that al the peple had grete wonder therof and were gretely comfortide

[1] An Ampulla is mentioned among the Regalia ordered for Charles II.'s Coronation.

thereby."[1] The *sainte chrême* was miraculously preserved without wasting at Rheims, and the Holy Ampull was brought with great ceremony in a splendid reliquary for each Coronation from the founder's tomb to Notre Dame by the Prior and Convent of St. Rémi. This certainly took place from the ninth century till the consecration of Charles X. in 1824. Four noblemen were sent by the King to the Abbey as hostages for the vessel's safe return, which the Archbishop vowed "on the faith of a prelate."

England also had a celestial unguent which the Blessed Virgin, Walsingham relates, gave during his exile to St. Thomas of Canterbury, bidding him hide it till a true champion of the Church should be hallowed therewith. When Henry, first duke of Lancaster, was warring overseas, a holy man gave him the golden eagle and stone vial containing it; but these vessels lay[2] in the Tower of London till Richard II. found them there with St. Thomas's writing, and, learning the virtue of the unguent, would fain have been anointed a second time. The Archbishop, however, told him that the sacred unction he had received could not be repeated. The King, after carrying the vessels into Ireland, delivered them finally to the Archbishop, saying that it was clear

[1] *Liber Festivalis*, ed. Caxton, 1483.

[2] Not wholly forgotten; for the miraculous Balm is mentioned in a letter of Pope John XXII. to Edward II.

to him that it was the Divine will that so noble a Sacrament should be reserved for another. Henry IV., his supplanter, to strengthen his position, was anointed with it in 1399.

Maskell (who questions, while Bishop Stubbs confirms, the idea that unction could not be repeated) mentions a rabbinical legend of a chrism consecrated by Moses, and kept without wasting till the Captivity. Certainly the Kings of the northern kingdom are not recorded to have been anointed, probably as possessing no sacred oil. As early as Judges ix. 15 (Jotham's parable of the bramble) the anointing of Kings is familiarly referred to, and the anointing of a stone at Gen. xxviii. 18. Oil throughout Holy Scripture is a principal type of the gifts of God's Spirit. The composition of the "holy anointing oil" was Divinely prescribed in the Mosaic Law (Exod. xxx. 25), and it must be distinguished from the ordinary olive-oil. It is the former which is spoken of in Ps. cxxxiii. Zadok the priest took it out from the tabernacle to anoint Solomon (1 Kings i. 39).

Originally, besides the Emperor, only four Christian Kings, those of England, France, Jerusalem and Sicily, were anointed.[1] In France and

[1] But after the English yoke had been broken by Robert the Bruce, the Kings of Scots obtained their desire to be anointed and crowned. And before the close of the fifteenth century the Holy See had bestowed this privilege on other monarchs.

England alone was there a double unction, from a silver and a gold Ampulla, with olive-oil and with chrism or balsam "compounded after the art of the apothecary." Not even the Emperor received it. Shakespeare says in *Richard II.*:—

> "Not all the water in the rough rude sea
> Can wash the *balm* from an anointed King."

See below, notes to Cap. VIII.

The simple oil answered to the "oil of the sick" and "oil of the catechumens," which till the Reformation was consecrated on the preceding Maundy Thursday. At the same time was hallowed a cream or balm to be used at Confirmations and ordinations. It is this which was employed for the consecration of a King, being applied in the form of a cross to the crown of the head after the anointing with simple oil of the accustomed places of the King's person. But in the later middle ages the miraculous unguent already described was used instead of this Balsam.[1]

All the Tudor Princes received the double anointing—Mary, because of the disuse under Edward VI. of the Maundy Thursday hallowings, and because of the Interdict, receiving a supply from overseas, blessed by the Bishop of

[1] It is right to add that the Rev. H. A. Wilson, in a letter to myself, questions the evidence for this, or for the admixture of a drop of St. Thomas's Oil with the chrism.

Arras. Elizabeth petulantly declared that "the grease"—presumably the old unguent—smelt ill. James I. was hallowed with "the Oyle with which antiently the kings and queens have been anointed"—which the Venetian Agent confirms. But this, it would seem, exhausted it. From 1603 to 1685 only one unguent was used, and after that a simple perfumed Oil, which is very carefully prepared. The King's apothecary in 1685 received £200 for the unguent, which is described as "exceeding rich and fragrant."[1] It was the simple olive-oil which is directed by our Lord and by St. James to be used for the unction of the sick. The two are distinguished in St. Luke vii. 46: "My head with oil (*elaion*) thou didst not anoint; but she hath anointed my feet with ointment (*myron*)."

Anthony Wood[2] repeats a doubtful tale which he had from Ralph Sheldon, that Charles II., like Mary Tudor, "had oyl or ointment sent from France, where it was by a Popish Bishop consecrated."

[1] We know the ingredients for Charles I.'s anointing, viz.: Oil of orange flowers and of jasmine blended with Spanish oil of been, distilled oil of roses, distilled oil of cinnamon, extract of white flowers of benzoine, ambergris, musk, civet. These were mixed in a porphyry jar, then placed in a porcelain vase over warm ashes, and spirit of roses added. In the Eastern Church the unguent is made up of nearly forty elements. (See Dr. Wickham Legg's *Coronation of the Queen*, Church Historical Society's Publications, No. XLII., S.P.C.K., 1898.) Of course, chrism is such because of its consecration, not by virtue of being a compound.

[2] *Life and Times*, i. 399.

For the question of the consecration of the Coronation oil, see below, pp. 102–104.

In the Anglo-Saxon rite the Oil was applied with the thumb. This has, it appears, been the recent custom, a little having been poured into the spoon. A golden style or reed was used in France.

CAP. II

The Entrance

5 *The King and Queen . . . are to be received.*— The procession of the Regalia, to bring the King from Westminster Hall, with great liturgical pomp and with anthems and solemn music, to the altar of consecration, was discontinued in 1831. At recent Coronations the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster, bearing on cushions of cloth of gold St. Edward's Crown, the Orb, the Sceptre with the Dove, the Sceptre with the Cross, St. Edward's Staff, the Chalice and Patina, and the Holy Bible, had already proceeded to the west entrance.

Maskell[1] gives the ancient order for reception of a Prince or other exalted personage at the entrance of a church, with *Blessed be he that cometh, etc.*[2] This typifies the angelic reception

[1] *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. ii. p. 322.
[2] See also Atchley's *Ordo Romanus Primus*, pp. 93, 95.

of the King of Glory into heaven, as described in the psalm of the Ascension, the twenty-fourth.

In proceeding through the church the Regalia are all borne by noblemen and prelates. The Paten, the Bible and the Chalice are carried immediately in front of the Sovereign. The Lord High Steward, created for the occasion, and temporarily, next to the Sovereign, the greatest official in the kingdom, bears St. Edward's Crown.

6 The anthem *Laetatus sum* has been sung here at every Coronation since Charles I. In 1831 an anthem was also sung before the arrival of the King and Queen.

7 *The Theatre*, also called the *Scaffold*, *Stage*, *Mount* or *Pulpitum*, "with degrees on every side."[1] This occupies the space between the four great pillars, and is now one step below the sacrarium floor. It was at one time railed in and "considerably elevated," and is shown in a medieval miniature as a "high scaffold," with a staircase leading up to it. At Edward VI.'s Coronation there were as many as twenty-two steps leading to it from the west, that the child-King might be better seen, and on the east "fifteen steps down to the high altar." For here take part the more public and less mystical parts of

[1] So in Neh. viii. 4 the "pulpit" accommodated a number of people, and others stood on the "stairs" (ix. 4).

the ceremony—the Recognition, the Inthronization and the Homage.

8 Upon the Theatre stand two *Thrones* or Chairs of State; one, for the King, of five degrees; the other, for the Queen, of three. Below and eastward of the Thrones should stand the *Chairs of Recognition* or of *Repose*,[1] abolished in the 1911 Order. An account by Lady Georgiana Bathurst, one of Queen Adelaide's train-bearers, says: "The Bishops could not agree as to which chair the Queen was to seat herself in; she was therefore for a few moments under some embarrassment, and made a tour round the chairs by the altar, which gave them time to settle in which chair she should be placed."

9 *The Humble Adoration.*—This is mentioned as early as Stephen, and perhaps as Ethelred. At the Holyrood Coronation of 1633 the King kneeled down "at the very entry." His elder brother Henry, the Puritan hope, was as a child much commended for "his quicke wittie answeres, pryncely carriage and reverend performing his obeyzance at the altar." For Charles II. at Westminster in 1661 a prie-dieu was placed one-third of the distance up the nave, where the King kneeled, and "with much devotion used a short

[1] But the word "repose" somewhat significantly disappears entirely from the 1902 Order. The word "Throne" should properly be applied to the elevated platform on which the chairs of State stand.

ejaculation." To bow or bend the knee on first entering the courts of the Lord's House is not confined to Coronations, but a piece of old-fashioned piety which lingered on to the nineteenth century and was at one time usual. Thus Burnet, in 1686, conversed with the Prince of Orange upon "some of our ceremonies, such as the surplice and the cross in Baptism, with our bowing to the altar."[1] Pepys noticed at St. George's, Windsor, February 26, 166$\frac{5}{6}$, "great bowing by all the people, the poor knights particularly, to the Alter." In the Roman Communion it has been displaced by the practice of genuflecting only to the Holy Sacrament. It has often been compared to the reverence made in the House of Lords towards the throne. The Commons bow to the Chair in passing, a tradition from the days when the altar was standing in St. Stephen's Chapel. The old King William of Prussia, when made Emperor at Versailles, is described as bowing towards the crucifix.

Several of our cathedrals have statutes enjoining this obeisance, and the seventh canon of 1640 says :—

"Whereas the Church is the House of God, dedicated to His holy worship, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatness and goodness of His divine majesty . . .

[1] *History of His Own Times*, vol. iii. p. 105, ed. 1753.

we therefore think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, that they be ready to render unto the Lord the [outward acknowledgment of their bodies] by doing reverence and obeisance both at their coming in and going out of the churches, chancels, and chapels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive Church in the purest times, of this Church also for many years of the reign of Elizabeth. . . . And in the practice or omission of this rite we desire that the rule of charity prescribed by the Apostle may be observed."

CAP. III

10 *The Recognition.*—This is preliminary to the religious service. It has for some centuries taken the form of a feudal "recognising" of the claim of an undoubted heir. The "banns" are addressed to those who have come to do (in the phrase used till recently) their "homage, service, and bounden duty." At Charles I.'s Coronation, however, we find the doors were thrown open to the people at this point, and two other forms are given for that occasion :—

"(1) Will you take this worthy Prince, Charles, right Heire of the Realm, and have him to be yo^{r} King and become subjects unto him and submit yourselves to his commandments?"

"(2) Sirs, Heere I present unto you King Charles, the rightfull and undoubted Heire by the Lawes of God and man to the Crown and Royall Dignity of this Realme whereupon you shall understand y^{t} this day is prefixed and appointed by all y^{e} Peeres of y^{e} land for the Coronation,

Inunction, and Consecration of y^e^ said most Excellent Prince: Will ye serve at this time and give yo^r^ will and assents to y^e^ said Coronation, Inunction, and Consecration?"

Yet another form is given by an eye-witness, Sir Simonds d'Ewes, as the one actually used, viz.:—

"My masters and freinds; I am here come to present unto you your King, King Charles, to whome the Crowne of his auncestors and predecessors is now devolved by lineall right, and hee himself come hither to bee settled in that throne which God and his birth have appointed for him; and therefore I desire you by your generall acclamations to testifie your content and willingness thereunto."

The proclamation for Edward VI. and for Mary was like (2) above, with the words added, "as by your duty of allegiance ye be bound to do."

For Henry VIII. there is a strong assertion of the Prince's right of inheritance, but he is also said to be "elected, chosen, and required by all the three estates of this lande to take uppon hym the seid coroune and royal dignitie."

Of Henry VI.'s Coronation "in infant bands" at eight years old we have a contemporary description. Warwick "bare the kynge to chyrche in a clothe of scharlett furryd." Having been "leyde upon the high schaffold between the high autere and the quere," he sat there in his chair of estate "beholdyng the

pepylle alle abowte saddely and wisely." The Archbishop "made a proclamacion on the iiij quarters of the scaffolde, seyend in this wyse: 'Sirs, heere comyth Henry, Kyng Henryes sone the Vth, on whos sowle God have mercy, amen. He homblyth hym to God and to holy churche, askynge the crowne of this reame by right and defence of herytage. If ye hold pays [peace] with hym, say Ya, and hold up handes.' And than all the people cryed with oon voyce, Ye, ye!"

Henry had been but a baby at his father's death, and presided in his nurse's arms at his first Council, the Great Seal lying in his lap. Mary of Scotland was taken from her cradle to be actually crowned in state at Stirling. Her father, too, James V., was crowned in infancy amid an "infectious passion" of tears.

The *Liber Regalis* merely says that the good liking of the people is to be asked: according to the Sarum pontifical, *during the sermon*. "We elect" has become "we consecrate" in that Order.

But though the Recognition preserves traces of an original episcopal, baronial, or even tumultuary election—"lawfully chosen by the priests and the chiefs of the people" is the phrase of the Council of Cealcyth, A.D. 787; "by the Bishops and the people" that of Ethelred's Ordo—the

English monarchy has never been in any real sense an elective one. The King had always to be taken from the descendants of Woden, and even when the law, strengthened by Christianity, of strict primogeniture was set aside, there was always some pretence of lineal and legal inheritance. Freeman says, for example, of John, "His right was perfectly good." John combined the two claims, asserting in a law (June 7, 1199) that God had given him the throne "by hereditary right, through the unanimous consent and favour of the clergy and people." The earlier Coronation Orders, in which the word "elect" occurs, speak also of the "throne delegated to thee in hereditary right by God's authority." In Richard II.'s first Parliament we find the Primate commending the young King to the affection of his subjects on the score that he was not an elected Prince, but had succeeded by birthright.[1] Heylin mistakes when he says[2] that the presentation of the King to the people was only done in cases of disputed title.

About the origin of Government three theories have been put forward—an Original Compact, the "acknowledged Strongest," and the Patriarchal. The third is the most historical; but the patriarch of the tribe, or larger family, was in rude times that member of a princely clan

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. [2] *Eccl. Restaurata*, i. 65.

who was recognised as most capable of rule. Once in exercise, however, the ruler's authority, however acquired, was reverenced as Divinely given and as essentially paternal.

When Charles II. was crowned at Scone, Lyon King of Arms rehearsed the royal line of the Kings upward from Fergus I. (330 B.C.). This was a very ancient custom.

For William and Mary the phrase was "undoubted King and Queen of this realm," instead of "rightful inheritours." Granted, however, the exclusion of Romanists, they were the next legal heirs.

Not counting Henry VI. or Edward V., there have been four dethronements since the Conquest. That of Charles I. made no pretence to legality, and need not be considered. The others were brought about by the legal fiction of a voluntary renunciation.

Edward II. was crowned with his bride Isabella on Shrove Sunday, 1308. Three days later the Barons met in the refectory of the Westminster convent to petition for the banishment of Gaveston, who had carried St. Edward's crown. After many unhappy years they resolved to withdraw their homage,[1] and a Parliament was called by Isabella and her paramour. Bishop Orleton of Hereford

[1] Charlemagne asserted the superiority of the imperial power to feudal limitations by taking no oath.

took the lead, and by his counsel the spiritual and temporal lords met in the church where fealty had been sworn to Edward, and, after what Mr. Capes[1] describes as a servile and time-serving sermon from Archbishop Reynolds on the very unscriptural text, "Vox populi vox Dei," proclaimed Prince Edward King. The Queen now affected to think that the Parliament had exceeded its powers, and exhorted her son not to accept the crown during his father's lifetime save with his consent. A deputation of Lords and Commons therefore waited on the King, and by threats, flatteries, exhortations to greatness of mind, and promise of ample revenue, induced him to abdicate. He was then brought in in a plain black gown, and addressed by the Parliament's proctor, rendering back in the names of the baronage their homage and allegiance, and the Lord Steward broke his staff, as when a King dies. Quickly the heralds proclaimed in London that "Sir Edward, late King of England," had "put himself out of the government of the realm, and granted and willed that the government of the said realm should come to Sir Edward, his eldest son and heir"; and a few days later Edward III. was crowned, proclamation again being made that it was with the good-will of his father. The

[1] *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 59.

Coronation medal showed a hand held out to save a falling crown, with the legend: "Non rapit sed recipit."

Bishop Stubbs says: "With a sad omen the first crowned head went down before the offended nation—with a sad omen, for it was not done in calm or righteous judgment. The unfaithful wife, the undutiful son, the vindictive prelate, the cowardly minister, were unworthy instruments of a nation's justice."[1]

Of Richard II.'s abdication Froissart relates that he was brought from prison in regal robes, crowned, and bearing his sceptre, but without supporters. First he entreated Lancaster to accept from him his sceptre, symbol of lordship over England, Aquitaine and Ireland. Then, raising the crown from his own head, he said: "Henry, fair cousin, I present and give to you this crown with which I was crowned King of England." The Duke took the crown and delivered it to the Archbishop, and Richard was taken back to prison, having been enforced

> "With his own tears to wash away his balm,
> With his own hands to give away the crown,
> With his own tongue deny his sacred state."

"The prisons of Princes are not far from their graves," and Edward and Richard were both done to death soon after their dethronement.

[1] *The Early Plantagenets*, p. 275.

In the case of James II., also, the King was said to have deserted his throne and left it vacant.

11 *The Archbishop.*—See below, Excursus I.

Speaks to the People.—The Recognition of a King bears some resemblance to the Confirmation of a Bishop. Then, if ever, the people have the opportunity of dissent. But "opposers" are not likely to be given a hearing. All are to acclaim "with one voice." Lady Cowper[1] describes the glum looks of the Jacobites at George I.'s Coronation. "When the Archbishop went round the throne demanding the consent of the people, my Lady Dorchester turned about to me, and said: 'Does the old fool think that anybody here will say *No* when there are so many drawn swords?' There was no remedy but patience."

In the Scottish form of Recognition, as used for Charles II., the people lifted up their hands and took an "obligatorie oath"—"by the Eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever we become your liege men, etc., according to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant."

At the ancient Scandinavian inaugurations the soldiers signified approbation by clashing their swords in cadence.

12 *The King standing.*—The King has always hitherto stood bareheaded by the Chair of

[1] *Diary.*

Recognition, showing himself to the people. But where the new Order places him, very few will see him. Edward VI., aged nine, was carried in his chair to the four sides of the theatre.

13 *Are you willing?*—One of the omens which marked Charles I.'s Candlemas Coronation occurred when he was "asked in church" by Archbishop Abbot:—

"Whether some expected hee should have spoken moore, others hearing not well what hee saied, hindered those by questioning which might have heard, or that the newnes and greatnes of the action basied men's thoughts, or the presence of so deare a King drew admiring silence, so that those which weere nearest doubted what to doe, but not one worde followed till my Lorde of Arundel tolde them they should crie out 'God save King Charles.' Upon which, as ashamed of ther first oversight, a little shouting followed. At the other side, wheere he presented himselfe, ther was not the like failing" (D'Ewes).

14 *The People shall signify, etc.*—The acclamations have from at least 1685 been led off by the Queen's Scholars of Westminster, "the trumpets blowing at every proclamation."

15 Having received the Recognition of his people, the King, until 1902, went with his Supporters and great Officers to the steps of the Altar, spread by the Officers of the Wardrobe with carpets and cushions, and kneeling there made his "First Oblation" of a golden pall or altar-cloth and an ingot or wedge of gold, which

the Archbishop "reverently laid upon the altar," afterwards saying a special prayer. This ancient, brief and significant ceremony is since 1902 merged in the Second Oblation (see below, p. 186), a great loss to the Solemnity. The Archbishop was at this point vested in his cope, and an anthem sung till recently. The 1626 account has: "The Archbishop after reverence done to the King entered into Saint Edward's Chapell, and after awhile came forth invested in his Pontificalibus, and seated himself in a chaire," etc.

Mary offered a "pall of baudekin," Elizabeth "of red silk." The ingot, or wedge of gold, is more substantial than the piece of goldleaf which is all that is now presented, with the frankincense and myrrh, at the Epiphany ceremony. Henry VII. and Edward VI. offered £24 in coin. William of Orange and William IV., either at this or the Second Oblation, had no money ready—twenty guineas was then usual. The former was supplied by Danby. The sailor-King whispered to the Archbishop, "I have not got anything; I will send it you to-morrow."

Edward II.'s ingot of gold was made like a King holding a ring in his hand, and the Second Oblation (during the Mass) of a mark of gold in the likeness of a palmer putting forth his hand to receive the ring—a conceit suggested by the

well-known legend of the Confessor and St. John the Evangelist. (See below, Cap. XI.)

The mediæval Emperors presented a pall at the altar on entrance. Louis XVI. of France offered a gold ciborium. Napoleon offered two wax tapers, decorated, the one with thirty pieces of gold, and the other with thirty pieces of silver.

The oblations at Westminster are offered to Almighty God and to the altar of St. Peter. They therefore are employed by the Dean and Chapter.

At some of our cathedrals (*e.g.* Oxford) the Canons go up severally to the altar to make their offerings kneeling. This is also done by the Fathers of the Church at the opening of a Convocation or Synod.

When the King had offered, the Consort was to go similarly to the altar, "honorifice," preceded by the Lords who bore her Regalia and supported by two Prelates, and there offer a pall of cloth of gold.

The floor and steps of the altar were to be strewn beforehand by the officers of the Great Wardrobe with carpets and cushions for their Majesties to kneel on while offering. The old rubrick bade the monarch "grovel," bow, or prostrate himself. The *Ordo Romanus* prescribed that he should remain through the Litany "humbly all fallen low in the form of a cross"

—that is, it would seem, with extended arms. The Bishops likewise.

The rubrick always till 1902 quoted the words, "*Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty.*" They mark the beginning of the actual religious rite.

The Sovereign, after obeisance made by him (1685), is conducted to a faldstool and chair "on the *South side of the Altar*"—not, of course, at the south end, but on the southern side of the sanctuary, west of the altar. The Consort's chair should face the King's, on the north side of the Presbytery. But for some centuries it has been placed next to his. The two Metropolitans now have seats opposite to their Majesties'.

The *Bishops of Durham* and *Bath and Wells* have "supported" the Sovereign since Cœur de Lion's Coronation, when these were the two senior prelates. At Henry VII.'s Coronation the occupants of the two sees, having been attached to the Yorkist side, were excluded from this duty.

Queen Anne, though aged but thirty-seven years, was so crippled with gout and corpulency as to need actual support when standing. In some of the processions she was carried in a low chair. We read of Athelstan in 925 being supported by two Bishops. It was feared in 1902 that the support might be needed.

CAP. IV

16 The Litany

The Litany was removed to this place in 1685, when, owing to there being no celebration of the Eucharist, the service suffered serious dislocation. Previously it followed *Veni Creator*, and led up to the anointing. At the next Coronation it was kept by Bishop Compton, where Sancroft had placed it, but made to be introductory to the Order of Holy Communion. Until the nineteenth century it was "sung," not "read." But it was never processional, always sung before the altar.

Until the seventeenth century the seven Penitential Psalms formed part of this Litany. There were also, until 1661, four special prayers, of which only the last, *Deus qui populis*, survived after 1685; and even this was not used for George IV. and William IV. It has now been moved to the Order of Holy Communion. At George III.'s Coronation the collect, "In time of War and Tumults," was used, as the Seven Years' War was going on.

The omitted prayers contained many Scriptural allusions. One, of Saxon date, besought that "this Thy servant *N.*, whom in lowly devotion we consecrate our King . . . may nourish

and teach, defend and instruct, Thy Church and people, and, like a mighty King (*potenter regaliterque*), minister unto them the government of Thy vertue against all enemies, visible and invisible, and by Thy helpe reforme their minds to the concord of true faith and peace."

At Charles I.'s Coronation "the Lattanie was sung at a ffaldstoole vppon the stage. . . . Mr. Cosin kneelinge behind the Bpps and giueinge direccon to the Quire when to answer." John Cosin, who afterwards had so much influence in framing the last revision of the Prayer-Book, acted as "Master of the Ecclesiastical Ceremonies."

CAP. V

17 *The Introit.* — *Tersanctus*, or the Seraphic Hymn, was used as the introit in 1831 and 1838. From the Revolution to George IV. there was none. The ancient introit, until 1685, was *Behold, O God our Defender.* The early nineteenth-century use was an unconscious return to the Byzantine rite in St. Sophia, in which the hymn *Trisagios* was sung early in the Coronation. The 1902 introit was *O hearken thou*, and the offertory, *Let my prayer.* They are now transposed.

O God, who providest.—This, originally a consecratory prayer between *Veni Creator* and the Unction, had been since mediæval times part of the Litany. In 1902 it was made the liturgical Collect. It is the old *Deus qui populis* expanded from a Collect in the Gregorian Sacramentary.

18 *Then the Archbishop shall begin the Communion Service.*—*Cf.* 1 Sam. xi. 15, "They made Saul king before the Lord in Gilgal, and there they sacrificed sacrifices and peace offerings before the Lord." Until 1685 the offering of the Christian Sacrifice followed the Coronation. In that year there was none, for there was no precedent for a celebration at which the newly-invested Sovereign did not communicate, except the unhappy case of King John, and perhaps that of Elizabeth. At the double Coronation of 1689 a significant change was made, by which, instead of preceding the celebration of the Eucharist, the Coronation solemnities became part of it, as in the consecration of a Bishop, which follows the Creed and sermon. This was also the arrangement in the earliest extant European Order, contained in Archbishop Egbert's pontifical, in which the Coronation comes between the "Mass of the catechumens" and the "Mass of the faithful."

19 The Epistle and Gospel are those, almost exactly, of the mediæval service.

From George II. to Victoria the Commandments and Kyries were recited after the Collect for purity. The early Stuart precedent is now to be followed.

CAP. VI

20 *The Sermon.*—Preached in 1838 by Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, from 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31. And Bishop Winnington-Ingram was to have preached in June, 1902. But Stanley is incorrect in stating that the Bishop of London has usually been the preacher. The northern Primate (Vernon Harcourt) preached in 1821 (from 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4) and in 1831, and the present Archbishop of York will preach at the 1911 Coronation.

Except in 1838, the rubrick has always prescribed brevity. At Scone in 1651 Charles II. had to listen to a discourse of immense length, in which the Assembly's Moderator drew forth the "sins of the King and his family," and especially of his mother Jezebel, for which a day of humiliation had lately been observed throughout the land.

Sancroft notes of Charles I.'s Coronation: "Dr. Senhouse, Bp. of Carlisle (Chap[l] to y[e] King, when Prince), preached upon, *And I will*

give thee a Crown of life, his own funeral; y^e^ black Jaundice having so possest him y^t^ all despair'd of him, and he died soon after." But the omen was applied to the King himself. "This was thought," says Echard, "to have been his funeral sermon when alive, as if he was to have none when he was buried." Truly there was much to contrast between the careful and finished (though somewhat thrifty) ceremoniousness of Charles's Coronation and the refusal of the least office of the Church for which he had died to his remains, which were laid near Henry VIII.'s "without any words," says Clarendon, "or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders." The above omen is not unlike what was prognosticated for this King's father's mother, the star-crossed Scots Queen, at whose infant Coronation was displayed a device of three crowns with the words "aliamque moratur," viz., a celestial diadem, though Elizabeth in after years might interpret it to mean the crown of England. The 1626 Coronation was also disturbed by an earthquake.

It was noted by Richard II.'s adherents that one of three sermons preached for his rival's Coronation was on the text, "Jacob received the blessing," "Jacob" meaning Supplanter.

There was no regular sermon for Edward VI.,

but Cranmer addressed the child-King from the wooden pulpit which now stands in the nave, dissuading his god-son from any idea that the oath was taken to the Pope. "Your Majesty is God's vicegerent and Christ's vicar within your own dominions, and to see (with your predecessor Josias) God truly worshipped and idolatry destroyed." The Sermon was placed just before the Oath even in the older Orders, rather than in its usual place after the Nicene Creed.

Burnet's sermon for William and Mary drew forth, Macaulay says, the loudest hums of the Commons.

"Queens shall be thy nursing-mothers" was the appropriate text chosen by Archbishop Sharp for Queen Anne.

21 *Ready in the Pulpit.*—"Pulpit" is used here in its usual sense, and does not mean the Theatre. The Bishops sit opposite, with the two Archbishops in front of them, facing their Majesties.

22 "A *Chair of Purple Velvet* for the Archbishop to sit on the north side of the Altar, opposite to the King" (1661). In the *Little Device*, for Henry VII., "the Cardinal is to sit before the high Altar, his back towards the same, and the King shall sit against him face to face." But this was at the anointing.

The King has put on during sermon his Cap of Estate. To be covered in sermon-time was once universal.[1] George IV. suffered so much from heat that he remained uncovered. He had been copiously bled the night before, and nearly fainted more than once during the service.

CAP. VII

The Oath

23 The *Declaration*.—Happily changed in 1910 from the older form (a relic of the Test Act), the crude theology and unprincely language of which was so long "a stain on the Statute-book." It was made by George III. and his three predecessors, who had not previously met Parliament, at their Coronations—the only excuse for the inveterate newspaper confusion between the Declaration and the Coronation Oath.

24 The language of the present *Oath* is of merely Parliamentary origin. The Church of England is appellant rather than, strictly speaking, "Protestant." For this word is historically

[1] See *Hierurgia Anglicana*, ed. Staley, ii. 256. See also Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (Bohn), ii. 323. "In Scotland," Gillespie writes in 1637, "a man coming into one of our churches in time of publike worship, if he sees the hearers covered, he knowes by this custome-signe that sermone is begunne" (*Disputes against the English-Popish Ceremonies*, iii. 86).

of Lutheran application—while "Reformed" was the name assumed by Calvinists—and, though used by orthodox English writers in the seventeenth century — often in the sense of non-separatist—did not find synodical acceptance. The Episcopate in 1661 declared that "those to whom the name of Protestant most properly belongs are those that profess the Augustan confession"—the confession of the Lutheran Princes at Augsburg—and in 1689, just at the time that the present Oath was drawn up by Parliament, the Lower House of Convocation declined at first to concur in an address to the Crown in which "the Protestant religion" was vaguely spoken of, demurring that the phrase was "equivocal, since Socinians, Anabaptists, and Quakers assumed the title," and because there was reason to fear "lest the Church of England should suffer diminution in being joined with foreign Protestant churches." It is but natural that many should cling to a word regarded as a safeguard of principles contended for by our fathers; and, indeed, every communion or person that protests against error is thereby protestant. But in course of time the expression has so degenerated in idea, especially on the Continent, and is so associated with a "negative miscellany of opinions antagonistic to Catholic truth," that the increasing unwillingness of divines to accord

it official recognition is also not unnatural.[1] Here "Protestant Reformed Religion" is guarded by the words "established by Law," and is to be taken with the "defence of the Catholick faith," mentioned at the delivery of the Ring, and the duty to "protect the Holy Church of God."

25 *As follows.*—The present form of Oath was enacted two days before William and Mary's Coronation. "Henceforth," said a speaker in the Commons, "the English will date their liberty and their laws from William and Mary, not from St. Edward the Confessor." Previously the Oath was in this form:—

"*Arch-Bp.* SIR, Will you grant and keep, and so by y^r^ oath confirme to the People of England the Lawes and Customes to them granted by the Kings of England yo^r^ lawfull and religious Predecesso^rs^; And namely y^e^ Laws, Customes, and Franchises granted to y^e^ Clergy [*aliter* Clergy and people] by y^e^ glorious King St. Edward yo^r^ Predecessour, [according to y^e^ laws of God, y^e^ true profession of the Gospell established in this Kingdome and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof and the ancient Customes of this Realm? (*Tudor addition*)].

"*Rex.* I grant and promise to keep them.

"*Arch-Bp.* S^r^, Will you keep peace and Godly agreement entirely according to yo^r^ power both to God y^e^ Holy Church y^e^ Clergy and y^e^ People?

[1] How widely the objection is felt appears by a letter addressed to the *Times* in July, 1910, by Dr. Eliot, the Dean of Windsor, and Prolocutor of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation, stating that the description of the Church of England as "Protestant" in Mr. Asquith's proposed form of Accession-Declaration would be "greatly objected to by the vast majority of Churchmen."

"*Rex.* I will keep it.

"*Arch-Bp.* S^r^, Will you to y^r^ power cause law, justice, and discretion in mercie and truth to be executed in all your judgments?

"*Rex.* I will.

"*Arch-Bp.* S^r^, Will you grant to hold and keep the Laws and rightfull Customes w^ch^ y^e^ Commonalty [*or* folk *and* people, changed by Henry VIII. to 'noblys'] of this yo^r^ Kingdome have [*aliter* shall have chosen: *elegerit, auera eslu*]; and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?

"*Rex.* I grant and promise so to doe."[1]

Then followed the Requisition, or Admonition, of the Bishops, pronounced by one of them:—

"Our Lord and King, we beseech you to pardon and to grant and to preserve unto us and the Churches committed to our charge all Canonicall Priviledges and due Law and Justice, and to protect and defend us as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be Protector and Defender of the Bishops and Churches under their government.

"*The King answereth:* With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon; and that I will preserve and maintaine to you and the Churches committed to yo^r^ charge all Canonicall Priviledges," etc. etc.

Oliver Cromwell promised to "encourage the professours" of the Gospel. Charles II. at Scone swore to uphold the Covenant, and became "the only covenanted King with God and His people in the whole world." Henry VIII., after his own Coronation, made the future Oath to be one to maintain the liberties of old time granted by

[1] For the history of the Oath see Taylor, *G. of R.*, p. 329.

the righteous Christian Kings of England "to the holy chirche of inglonde, and that be nott preiudyciall to hys Jurysdyction and dignite ryall." His own vow notwithstanding, "all things sacred became a prey to ravenous courtiers" (Roger Coke). Elizabeth "stopt the precipice of things; yet so that she left a gap for herself and her Favorites to prey upon it; which was after shut by K. *James*, and with great care secured by K. *Charls*." The latter, praying that he might suffer death rather than commit sacrilege, asked: "To whom hath the Oath reference, and for *whose benefit?* The answer is clear, onely to the Church of England . . . and you mistake in alleaging that the two Houses of Parliament (especially as they are now constituted) can have this *Disobligatory* power." The most reasonable view would seem to be that an oath can only be dispensed by the imponent. The Church is formally the *imponens*, and the more ancient oaths (*e.g.* of Edward I.) are almost wholly ecclesiastical. In the Gothic kingdom of Spain, at least as early as the seventh century, the King took an oath to defend the Catholic faith. Yet the Church undoubtedly acts for the nation. The Sovereign therefore may consent to generally-agreed alterations in the political status of religion. George III.'s scrupulosity about the enfranchisement of Romanists was honest but ill-considered.

On the other hand, an engagement before God to defend the "doctrine, worship, discipline and government" of His Church surely cannot be set aside without the Church's own concurrence, merely at the desire of a majority in Parliament, where the spiritual Estate has come to be but a tiny remnant. The question of endowments is more difficult. But having originated in voluntary gifts, and not in any State grant, they come under the same rule.

The promise to uphold the laws and righteous customs which the commonalty of the realm (*vulgus*) shall have chosen (but the English version is merely "shall have") dates from Edward II. It was thirty-four years since Edward I.'s Coronation, and "the great council of the nation" had meanwhile become a reality. The Parliamentarians of Charles I.'s reign unreasonably argued that the words bound the Crown to assent to every Bill presented to it. The earlier Plantagenet and Norman Kings took the same oath which is found in Ethelred's Saxon Ordo, but Edward I.'s Oath was as follows :—

"I Edward, son and heir of King Henry, do profess, protest and promise, before God and His holy Angels, to maintain without partiality the Law, Justice, and Peace of the Church of God and the People subject unto me, so far as we can devise by the counsel of our liege and legal Ministers; as also to exhibit due and canonical honour to the Bishops of God's Church; to preserve unto them,

inviolably, whatsoever has been granted by former Emperors and Kings to the Church of God ; and to pay due honour to the Abbats and the Lord's Ministers, according to the advice of our Lieges, etc. So help me God and the Holy Gospels of the Lord."

Cœur de Lion promised to "bear honour and reverence to God, to Holy Church, and to her ordinances"; the Conqueror to "defend the holy Churches of God and their governors." Stephen vowed not to levy Danegelt. The words "preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of *England*" were introduced in Anne's reign because of the union with Presbyterian Scotland. (A declaration is made at the Sovereign's first Council not to invade the liberties of the Scottish Establishment.) "United Church of England and Ireland" was the phrase from George IV. to Victoria. For "Churches there" the 1902 Order had "Church therein."

Mary Tudor was the third and last of our Princes who used (at first and unwillingly) the title, "Head on earth of the Church of England." Froude says: "The Council proposed to bind the Queen by an especial clause to maintain the independence of the English Church, and she, on the other hand, was meditating how she could introduce an adjective *sub silentio*, and intended to swear only that she would observe the 'just' laws and constitutions."[1] But the

[1] *History*, vol. vi. p. 100.

phrase "rightfull (*droiturcles*) laws and customes" had always been in the Oath. No change seems to have been actually made. Mary, it appears, sent to Rome a copy of the Oath, with the petition that she might receive her crown without sin, even though the kingdom were not yet absolved.

It was the misfortune of the Church of England that between Charles I. and George III. not a single genuine son or daughter of hers, save Mary and Anne, ascended the throne, and William and the first two Georges were never episcopally confirmed.

The allegations brought against Laud at his trial of tampering with the Oath were easily, though he was debarred his books, refuted by him. They are uncritically repeated by Stanley.

The "laws and customs granted by the glorious King Edward" were a collection from the codes and dooms of the first Christian Kings of the Heptarchy, of Ethelbert, Ina, Offa and Alfred.

26 *The Holy Gospel.*—The Book is opened at St. John's Gospel. In the Holy Roman Empire the Oath was taken on a copy of the Gospels written in golden characters. The Kings of England, "for divers hundred years together"—certainly in 1626—swore upon a Latin version of the Evangelists called "King Athelstan's Book."

This was purchased by the British Museum in 1883 from the Earl of Ashburnham. It is greatly to be wished that the Oath should once more be taken on this book.

"Uncovered" is unnecessary, as the King has already been directed to remove his cap at the end of the Sermon. So in the 1902 Order the King is to "take off his Cap of State" before the Anointing. But when did he put it on? However, King Edward seems to have covered himself after the Recognition, there being no sermon, and so remained till after the Interrogatories of the Oath.

Until Stuart times the Oath was taken on the Holy Sacrament as well as on the Gospels. Cœur de Lion and Henry III. touched also certain reliques of saints. The meaning of "corporal oath" is discussed by Maskell in his *Monumenta*.[1]

27 *As he kneels upon the Steps.*—A well-known picture absurdly represents Queen Victoria as standing, fully robed, at the Altar itself, half turned round, with her hand upon the Book.

28 *Shall sign.*—This was not prescribed before George I. There is some evidence, however, that it was done in the middle ages. In 1821 the vellum roll to be subscribed was not forthcoming, and George IV. signed at the foot of the Oath in the printed order of service.

[1] Vol. ii. pp. xlvii.–liv.

CAP. VIII

The Anointing

29 *Veni Creator*.—This, the shorter version (Cosin's), is since 1902 given in the form in which it appears in the Ordinal. A touched-up but not improved variant of this version was used from 1689 to 1902. Anointing, the most sacred and mystical part of the Coronation rite, introduced by *Veni Creator* and a consecratory prayer [1]—there were formerly three—is regarded by the Church as that peculiarly which conveys the indelible "character" of kingship. "Ungere in regem," "elede (oiled) to King," are phrases anciently used. One who knew Queen Victoria intimately writes [2]:—

"No one ever accepted her fate with a graver or more complete conviction. . . . In her own heart she never questioned that she was the anointed of the Lord, called by the most solemn warrant to rule a great nation in the fear of God. She was fond of the word 'loyalty,' but she used it in a sense less lax than it bears in the idle parlance of the day. . . This sense [of her consecrated position] greatly helped to keep her on her lofty plane of daily, untiring duty."

[1] Mr. L. Wickham Legg observes: "Since 1685 the form of consecration has been much obscured by the dissemination of its component parts throughout the service, and the restoration of a clearer arrangement is much to be desired" (*Suggestions*, etc., p. 19).

[2] *Quarterly Review*, April 1901, p. 337.

Tudor exaggeration of the Divine claim of a *de facto* regal autocracy, "broad based upon the people's will," disparaged the efficacy of Church rites. With this cue Cranmer addressed Edward VI. to the effect that "the solemn rites of Coronation have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force nor necessity. They be good admonitions to put Kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity. For they be God's anointed, not in respect of the oil which the Bishop useth, but in consideration of their power which is ordained," etc. Yet the Church has ever regarded the sacramental unction as conveying special graces to the spirit, as well as sacrosanctity and inviolability to the person, of the recipient. St. Augustine cites David's attitude towards his persecutor Saul: "He reverenced him living, and vindicated him dead; and because he had cut but a little piece from the King's robe, his heart shook. Lo, Saul had not goodness, yet he possessed sanctity, not of his life, but of God's sacrament, which is holy even in evil men.[1] This was considered even more true of the Christian Prince. Maskell [2] gives the ancient careful directions as to "what shall be don on the demyse of

[1] But the old writers dwelt on the anointing of Saul by Samuel, after which "God gave him another heart." So after his Coronation Harry of Monmouth "anone and sodaynly became a newe man, and tourned al that rage and wyldnesse into sobernesse and wyse sadnesse" —*hostium victor et sui.*

[2] Vol. ii. cap. 4.

a king annoynted," beginning with the washing and cleansing of the body by a Bishop.

Shakespeare speaks of the indignities offered to King Lear's "anointed flesh." This is a quaint anachronism. But anointing of Saxon Kings is mentioned early in the eighth century, and, if old writers correctly affirm that only such could use the style "Dei gratia," is implied earlier still. Unction in France, whether copied from England or from the Old Testament, seems to have begun with Pepin the Little, A.D. 752.

The relation of the anointed King, styled "mixta persona" and "spiritualis (or 'spiritualiter') jurisdictionis capax," towards the Church is a subject of extraordinary difficulty, fascination, and perilousness.[1] It would be easy to quote dicta of the greatest theologians ranging from the loftiest theocratic conceptions—"the figure of God's Majesty: His captain, steward, deputy-elect, anointed, crowned"—to the idea of a relationship of the King to the Church hardly differing from that of the Swiss republic or the Sultan of Turkey. Obviously, the tie must vary greatly with different ages. Only, the Christian

[1] Minimising articles on this subject by Father Thurston, S.J., appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* of March 1902, and in the *Tablet* of May 31, 1902. Father Thurston observes that "the main features [of a consecration], whether the persons to be blessed were acolytes or priests or abbots or abbesses or nuns or emperors, follow invariably the same broad lines." He contends that no ecclesiastical character is imparted.

King's relation to the Church is a relation *ab intra* not *ab extra*. He is both supreme governor and dutiful son—"rex in solio" and "unus gregis." Erastianism springs from too low, not from too high, a conception of the regal office, just as Liberationism springs from a low conception of the State.

30 *O Lord, Holy Father.*—Grosseteste, asked by Henry III. what was the grace bestowed by the anointing, enlarged on the sevenfold gift of the Holy Ghost, and the analogy to Confirmation. The very explicit way in which this thought is brought out in this prayer is due to Compton, and dates from 1689.

31 *Here the Archbishop is to lay his Hand upon the Ampulla.*—This direction was also inserted in 1689. But the prayer for William and Mary was unique in containing distinct words for the consecration of the unguent, which none before or since has contained. The words were: "Regard, we beseech Thee, the supplications of Thy congregation. Bless this Oil." The resemblance to the prayer for the sanctification of the water in the Baptismal Service is obvious. Now, these words were introduced in 1662 to take the place of the old "hallowing of the font," which in the 1549 Prayer-Book was a separate office preceding the christening. Down to the Revolution there was also a separate episcopal hallowing of the

Oil of Coronation.[1] We hear nothing of any such preliminary consecration for William and Mary, and one is led to suppose that the new petition in the service itself was to take its place. But this is not found in any subsequent Order. Perhaps Anne, with her conservative views, returned to the preliminary benediction. What has happened since is somewhat obscure. Even in the Georgian era "the consecrated Oil" is always spoken of, and Taylor in his *Glory of Regality* (1820), p. 352, assumes that the Oil has been set apart "with suitable acts of solemnity."

In any case the direction for the manual act, with the preceding *Veni Creator*, has been considered by careful ritualists to be enough. Until James II., however, the Anointing (with the petition "that by the fatness of this Thy creature Thou wilt vouchsafe to bless and sanctify this Thy servant *N*") was led up to by *Veni Creator*, Litany, certain prayers, *Sursum corda*, and the preface, *It is very meet, right*, etc. (always the signal, Dr. Wickham Legg observes, of an approaching consecration, from that of the Eucharist to that of a cross or reliquary). Sancroft destroyed part of this arrangement, and Compton the rest, leaving only *Veni Creator*.

[1] Including in this phrase the "holy Oil" and the Chrism. But for the latter, the miraculous unguent had been substituted (see above, p. 64). The Oils were in addition *blessed* before the Coronation Service.—(*Missale Westmon.*, ii. 695.)

Sancroft notes that it is the duty of the Westminster Chapter to consecrate the Oil if there be a Bishop among them; otherwise of the Archbishop. From 1540 to 1856 either the "Abbot" or one of the Prebendaries was a Bishop, almost without a break. One of these breaks, however, included the 1821 Coronation; also in 1837 Bishop Monk, the only episcopal Prebendary, was sick. Laud, a Prebendary, then Bishop of St. David's, consecrated in 1626 with a Latin form; Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, as Dean, in 1685. The forms may be found in Wordsworth's *Coronation of King Charles I.* and Wickham Legg's *Coronation of the Queen.* In 1902 the Oil was hallowed in St. Edward's Chapel by Bishop Welldon.

The Anthem, "Zadok the Priest" (*Inunxerunt Salamonem*) is one of the oldest parts of the Service. It should be sung during the actual Unction, not, as in 1838, before it. Queen Victoria was disrobed at the Altar itself.

32 *Sit down in King Edward's Chair.*—The Stuarts *sate* to be anointed, and, Dr. Legg thinks, the earlier Plantagenets. Henry VII. was "kneling on quisshons," while the Cardinal sate. Edward VI. "lay prostrate before the altar, my Lord of Canterbury kneeling on his knees." Mary and Elizabeth knelt. In one of the Charles V. miniatures he kneels to be anointed at a faldstool. Our Charles I. sate in "an

auncient Chayre," "the old chair with Jacob's Stone." (For this Stone see Excursus H.) Charles II. was seated in "a chair between the Altar and St. Edward's Chaire" for the anointing and clothing. A similar one was to be provided for James II., but the "ancient Chair" was used, and in it Charles II. seems to have been crowned; at any rate it was there, "richly furnished." A chair was sent to Mary Tudor by the Pope, but it is unlikely that it was used for this purpose. It is now in Winchester Cathedral.

The phrase "*King* Edward's Chair"—referring, of course, to the Confessor, not to Edward I.—occurs first in a note by Sancroft, and for William and Mary the Chapel also is called "King" not "Saint" Edward's. So also in the Order for Victoria. But in 1821 the expression "Saint Edward's Chapel" had reappeared—the Chair was given no name. The two last Orders have "Saint Edward's Chapel."

In the Form of a Cross.—The only Coronation at which there is any doubt whether this was observed is James I.'s. The struggle of the Church of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to retain the sign of the cross in Baptism need not be further alluded to. The Prayer-Book refers those who scruple at it to Canon XXX.

33 *Four Knights of the Garter.*—Over Richard II.

the pall was held, Walsingham says, by the wardens of the Five Ports, "in the anointing and Mass, and also in the procession." But Henry IV.'s was upheld by four Dukes, of whom the French metrical chronicle says: "The good Duke of Surrey did it not with a good will; for he loved King Richard." "Summoned by Garter" was in the 1902 Order; also "delivered to them by the Lord Great Chamberlain."

An eye-witness of Charles I.'s anointing says that the traverse was drawn to hide him from the general view. Fuller, however, describes him as standing for a while, all disarrayed, before the pall was spread, and, after the unction, being led up to the Holy Table to receive "the ancient Habiliments of K. *Edward* Confessor" in his "hose and doublet of white Satten (with Ribbons on the Armes and Shoulders, to open them), and he appeared a proper Person to all that beheld him."[1]

Certainly, however, the Pall was intended for reverential concealment, and it strikes us as an extraordinary concession to a new democratic spirit when we read in a semi-official account of William and Mary: "The Holy Oyl Consecrated, Their Majesties were conducted to Their Regal Chairs placed on the Theatre that they

[1] Richard III. and Anne of Warwick, as described in Harleian MS. 2115, "put off their robes and stood all naked, from their waists upwards, till the Bishop had anointed them."

might be more Conspicuous to the Members of the House of Commons (who, with their Speaker, were seated in the North Cross), and were disrobed of their Crimson Velvet Mantles." The rubrick, however, speaks of the disrobing taking place "at the Altar"; so there may be some confusion. This seems to have been the first time the representatives of the people attended in a body. Even now the Commons have no official recognition in the Coronation, except as represented by their Speaker, who does not sit with them, while their ladies do.

On the Crown, the Breast, the Palms.—Until the Revolution six places were anointed—the hands, the breast, between the shoulders, the points of the shoulders, the bowings of the arms, and the crown of the head. For William and Mary these were reduced to three—the head, the breast, and the palms (in that order). This appears to have been a return to the precedent of Richard I., who was "oiled to king" on head, breast, and arms, signifying, say Hoveden and St. Thomas, glory, valour, and knowledge. The Anglo-Saxon form mentions the head only. William IV. and Queen Victoria were anointed only on the head and hands, with one formula for both places. For our late Sovereign the threefold unction was happily restored, and a separate formula used at each anointing.

Charlemagne, as Emperor of the West, was anointed from head to foot, "according to the custom of the Jewish law," at Rome by Pope Leo I. Henceforward the Emperors of the East received the unction also. But imperial sacrings were ordinarily on the shoulders and right arm only with the simple oil. In Russia coronation precedes the anointing. The brow, eyes, nostrils, ears and lips, and also the backs and palms of the hands, and the breast, are touched with a golden spray dipped in consecrated oil, with the words: "This impresses the gift of the Holy Ghost." Dr. Armitage Robinson, recently Dean of Westminster and now of Wells, to whom I am indebted for many suggestions, tells me that in the MS. Life of St. Edward at Cambridge the Confessor is shown as *sitting and crowned*, while the Archbishop pours oil on his head.

The old rubricks have careful directions about the under-vestures to be worn by the King—viz. a shirt of fine lawn, a kirtle of crimson tarteron, and a surcoat of crimson satin, with openings at all the necessary places, laced with loops of silver and gold, with hose of crimson sarcenet tied to the coat with silk ribbons. William IV., when disrobed for his anointing, appeared in an Admiral's uniform with trousers!

34 *The King shall Arise.*—For Queen Anne there were provided "two Quoifes and a paire of Gloves

for the Queenes Royall Person when Annoynted." The coifs (usually coif[1]) and gloves of fine lawn were used from the early mediæval period down to George IV., "for reverence of the anointing." For Henry VI. the coif (*chrismale*, or *amictus*—perhaps it was once an amice) was of white silk. Henry VIII.'s Devise says: "Whiche shall contynuelly abyde on the king's hed to the viijte daye next folowing, at whiche viij dayes, after a solempne masse seyd by a bisshop before the king, the seid bishop shall take the coyf from the kyng's hed." The older rubrick says "the abbat of Westminster," and adds that he shall wash and cleanse the King's head. The baptismal *chrismale* also was worn formerly for eight days.

The Orders until William IV. add: "And the Dean of Westminster wipes and dries all the places anointed with fine linen, or fine bombast wool, delivered to him by the Lord Great Chamberlain." "A certeyn softe thynge" it is called, for Henry VI. The wool was to be afterwards reverently burnt. In the French rite the linen gloves and the *camisia* touched by the ointment were also burnt.

In the Devise for Charles I. the rubrick says: "And if his Ma[ties] haire be not smooth after it,

[1] Hoveden says that on Cœur de Lion's head was placed a consecrated linen cloth, and over that a cap (ed. Savile, p. 374). The *Mirror* for September 10, 1831, asserts that William IV. was anointed on the breast. But contemporary newspaper accounts cannot be relied on.

there is St. Edw : Iuorye Combe for that end." Laud notes that the King used it. After his death in front of his palace, the Regalia were all broken up and sold by order of the Parliament, and in the valuation we find "an old combe of horne worth nothing—£0 0 0."[1] St. Cuthbert's was buried with him, and is preserved at Durham. St. Lupus' comb is at Sens. Louis XVI.'s hair, in spite of the fashions of 1775, fell in long ringlets over his shoulders.

35 *Sit down again.*—After the anointing, which, and not the coronation, is really the central act of the solemnity, comes the Investiture with the Ornaments. The first of these is the *Colobium Sindonis*, or Linen Albe, followed by the *Supertunica*, or Dalmatic, and Girdle with hangers. Then should come the "*Tissue hose* or Buskins and *Sandalls* of Cloth of Gold," but these seem not to have been worn since George II., though provided for George III., and perhaps later. Since 1685 and until 1902, none of the above ornaments are mentioned in the rubrick, except the *Colobium Sindonis* and *Supertunica* for George I. and the *Supertunica* for William IV., but they are always mentioned in the accounts of the Great Wardrobe, and I have examined the Albe and Dalmatic worn by Queen Victoria (in which a

[1] See *Notes and Queries*, vol. v. 1894, p. 91, for the Comb in Church ceremonies.

contemporary picture shows her vested) at St. James's Palace. It is possible, however, that, being closed vestures, the placing of them upon the Sovereign ceremonially was thought difficult to be done with seemliness and reverence (unless, indeed, it were performed while the Sovereign was still screened from view by the Pall of the anointing), and that by Queen Victoria, in whose case there was no anointing of the breast, and therefore no need of openings in the garments, they were worn from the beginning.[1] Or else these investitures, not being intended for public view, were not thought necessary to be prescribed in the rubrick. One account of George III.'s Coronation states that the Albe, Dalmatic, Buskins and Sandals were not worn, nor yet the under-vestures of lawn and crimson satin.

Together with the Armill, or Stole, and Pallium, the above form the sacerdotal ornaments, and mark the quasi-priestly character of the anointed King—*rex idemque sacerdos*—as the representative (within the mixed temporal sphere) of the regality of the ascended Lord. They are now made new

[1] The Coronation number of the *Mirror* says that by William IV.'s desire the *Supertunica*, though laid on the Altar, was not put on him. Yet it says he was girded with the Sword. Arnold Royle, Esq., C.B., Deputy-Keeper of the Robes, writes to me: "Queen Victoria certainly wore the *Colobium Sindonis* and the *Supertunica*. The Chief Lady was the Duchess of Sutherland, who, as Mistress of the Robes, claimed the purple State Robe, and it is now in the drawing-room at Stafford House. The magnificent gold tissue robes of George IV. are now in the possession of the Duchess of Buccleuch."

for each Sovereign, though called "St. Edward's Robes," but until the Restoration the vestments worn had been handed down probably for many centuries. The "tinsen hose" were nearly torn in being put on in 1626, and in 1649 the historic consecrated vestures of the Kings of England were described as, for the most part, "very old," and disposed of by Parliament for a few shillings.

36 *The Colobium Sindonis.*—This is called by Walsingham, *temp.* Richard II., "St. Edward's Tunic," and by Holinshed "the coate of seynt Edward." Sancroft describes it as "a white fine Linen or silken vest, Tabert, or surplice, down to the Foot, in the Form of a Dalmatica, save it is without sleeves." It answers to the episcopal rochet, and is made properly of the finest cambric holland or rennes. Queen Victoria's was edged with lace, and had a deep lace flounce. It was open at the side, cut low in the neck, and somewhat gathered in at the waist, which detracted from its ecclesiastical appearance. A thick gold cord, with heavy bullion tassels, was worn over this Albe round the waist. The other vestures also were less severely cut than in former times.

After the Albe the usual ecclesiastical practice, Mr. Davenport remarks, prescribes the Stole. At one time, however (as still in the Greek Church), it succeeded the Dalmatic. "So here our Kings

preserve an ancient custom which the Western Church has lost."[1]

37 *The Supertunica, or St. Edward's Mantle.*— This is described in the fourteenth century as "a long Tunic to the ankles, woven with large figures before and behind." It is usually called "the Dalmatick," or close Pall, or closed Cope, though the pictures of Charles II. and his Brother show it open. A Bishop under his chasuble would wear an under and an upper tunicle. Edward VI. wore a tabert of tarteron, white, shaped in manner of a dalmatick. Queen Victoria's Supertunica was of cloth of gold trimmed with gold lace, and woven with a wavy pattern of red roses, purple thistles, and green shamrocks. The lining was of richest crimson taffeta.

The Tinsen (tissue) Hose and Sandals go with the Supertunica. For some reason Charles II. put them on before donning it.

After the Unction, and while the vestments were being put on, there was sung from James II. to George III. the antiphon (*Protector noster*), *Behold, O God our Defender, and look upon the face of Thine Anointed.*

[1] Benedetto da Majano's picture in the Bargello at Florence of the Coronation of Alfonso di Aragona represents him as vested in colobium, stole and girdle, and having orb, sceptre and crown.

CAP. IX

The Spurs and Sword

38 The King, being now consecrated to his great office, receives the emblematic deliveries of the regal *ornamenta*. Feudal and knightly ideas are here consecrated by religion.

39 The right to carry the golden *Spurs* in the procession by service of grand sergeantry has had several claimants.

Touch his Majesty's Heels.—This is a revival. Before Anne's Coronation the Spurs were buckled on, but at once removed, so as not to encumber the Sovereign.

40 *Delivery and Oblation of the Sword.*—Before Anne the Sovereign rises up, ungirds his own Sword,[1] and "going to the steps of the Altar offers it up there in the Scabbard" and returns to his Chair. It was laid on the Altar by the Archbishop, with a prayer (previously to James II.) that God would "bless and sanctify it for the defence and protection of churches, widows, orphans, and all the servants of God against the savage cruelty of pagans and infidels, and that it might be a fear and terror to all those that lie in

[1] But in 1626 it appears the King's sword was "carryed as well as the other three," viz. in the Procession. The shield and immense sword of Edward III. (still preserved in St. Edward's Chapel) were borne before him at his Coronation.

wait to do mischief." But in 1685 the prayer was altered to its present form, except that "direct and support" were, until George III., "bless and sanctify." Afterwards, having been girded with it, the King again offered it at the Altar. In 1902 the girding was happily revived.

One of the changes made by Sancroft in 1685, to meet the scruples of James II., was the removal of the old "hallowings" of the ornaments, especially the Sword, the Crown, and the Ring, and the putting in their place a prayer for the blessing and sanctification of the Sovereign himself. James doubtless disliked the high sacramental language of the rite in the mouth of Anglican Bishops, for whose anointing of himself he sought dispensation from Rome.

41 *The Archbishop, etc.*—In 1838 Armagh was mentioned. Till then mention was only made of "the Bishops Assisting." Henry VII.'s Device says: "All the Bushoppes shall delyuer to hym and seyase hym, standing, with a swerd, they all leaning their hands on the same and the Cardinall saying unto hym, *Accipe gladium*," etc. In the Anglo-Saxon rite the King was girded by Bishops.

42 *Receive this Kingly Sword, brought now from the Altar of God.*—This and the subsequent Oblation and Redemption of the Sword signify, says Silver, that the power of it "belongs to God,

and that man undertakes to exercise it not as a natural, but as a permitted, right, for temporary use"—"not a sword-taker," as Roger Coke says, "but a sword-bearer." It certainly has a deeper meaning than that the King "is the head of the Army." Even from an artistic and spectacular point of view regret may be permitted that State ceremonials have recently tended to degenerate into mere military displays.

43 After "Unworthy" followed till James II. "yet consecrated by the Authority of the holy Apostles." Until William IV. there followed at this point the Girding of the Sword "by the Lord Great Chamberlain or some other Peer thereunto appointed," though Mary I. was girded by the Bishop of Winchester, her consecrator. The Supertunica has a cloth of gold girdle for the purpose. The girding by the Great Chamberlain was revived in 1902. The Worshipful Company of Girdlers have received King George's permission to present the Girdle, as well as the Armilla, for the 1911 Coronation. There was also till 1831 an address: "Remember Him of whom the Royal Psalmist did prophesy, saying, Gird thee with thy Sword upon thy thigh," etc. Mary Tudor was thus girded, and Elizabeth—"there was a sword with a girdele putt over her and upon one of her shoulders and under the other: and soe the sword hangeing by her side."

Also Anne. But at the double Coronation of 1689 only the husband was girt. In 1831 and 1838 the words "now to be girded with this Sword" were omitted from the prayer.

Among the Regalia of James VI. and I. is mentioned the "Great Two-handed Sworde, garnished with sylver and guilte, presented to King Henry the Eighth by the Pope," together with the title (which had alternately a papal and a parliamentary sanction) of "Fidei Defensor." It is now at Oxford. The Scottish Sword of State has a somewhat similar history. "Julius the Secound, Paip for the tyme, sent ane ambassadour to the King [James IV.] declaring him to be Protectour and Defendour of Christen faythe, and in signe thairof send unto him ane purpour diadame wrocht with flouris of golde, with ane sword, having the hiltis and skabert of gold sett with precious stanes" (Lesley).

44 *In the Scabbard.*—In the French rite the scabbard is laid on the altar separately.

45 *Redeemed.*—The same price has always been paid—viz. a hundred new shillings—though in 1761, 1831, and until 1911, this disappears from the rubrick. Compare the redemption of the First-born (Exod. xiii. 13, and St. Luke ii. 24).

Until James II. the Oblation and Redemption of the Sword came later—viz. between the deliveries of the Ring and of the Rod.

46 *Naked.*—At the end of the Service the record for Henry VI. speaks of "iiij lordes berynge iiij swerdes, ij shethed and ij naked" (Cotton MS.). But that for Elizabeth mentions "iii naked swordes and a sword in the scabbard" (Ashmole MS.). All, however, are naked when the Sword of State, or the substitute for it, has been unsheathed. The scabbards are of cloth of gold.

At George III.'s Coronation the Sword of State had been left behind, it was thought, at St. James's, and one belonging to the Lord Mayor was hastily borrowed. But on entering the church it was found lying on the altar.

Henry IV., who claimed the crown partly in right of conquest, caused the Lancaster sword worn by him when he landed at Ravenspur to be carried naked by the Constable at his Coronation. Similarly the Fatimite Sultan Moez, in 972, is said to have drawn forth his scymetar and exclaimed, "Behold my lineage!" The Grand Turk was formerly girded with two scymetars in token of his authority over East and West. Sancroft remarks that "the 2 Swords"—*i.e.* the "Sword of the Church" and "the Sword of Justice" (Froissart)—"surely are not in relation to Scotland and Ireland, but to some principalities in France of old enjoy'd." This is a mistake.

Curtana, the "short Sword," or "Sword of

Mercy," is found with this name at Henry III.'s Coronation. Such mystical titles were not uncommon. "The Sword of Tristan," says Arthur Taylor,[1] "is found (*ubi lapsus!*) among the regalia of King John: and that of Charlemagne, *Joyeuse*, was preserved to grace the Coronations of the Kings of France. The adoption of these titles was, indeed, perfectly consonant with the taste and feeling of those ages, in which the gests of chivalry were the favourite theme of oral and historical celebration; and when the names of *Durlindana*, of *Curtein*, or *Escalibere*, would nerve the warrior's arm with a new and nobler energy."

The Sword of Justice to the Spiritualty, it has been remarked, lost its obtuseness in the hands of Henry VIII. Cranmer styles the State Sword the "Sword of Governance," and Curtana the "Sword of Peace."

CAP. X

The Royal Robe and Orb

47 The girding of the sword to the Sovereign's side has necessarily to precede the investiture with the *Armill*, or Stole, and regal *Pallium*, or Imperial Mantle. But these complete the

[1] *Glory of Regality*, p. 73.

"bysshop's gere"—"like as a busshop should say masse" is the description of the child-King Henry VI.—in which the Sovereign is arrayed, though the investitures with Crown, Ring, Gloves, Staff and Bible, and the Inthronization, have also their episcopal counterpart. But with all its insistence on the divinity which hedges Kings, the Church maintained that

> "There is no emperour, kyng, duke ne baron
> That of God hath commissyon
> As hath the least preest in the worlde beynge.
> For of the blessed sacraments pure and benigne
> He bearyth the keyes." [1]
>
> —*Fifteenth Century Morality.*

48 The Armill, though always worn, is mentioned since Charles II. only in the Georgian orders and in 1902. Omission in Coronation formularies clearly is not prohibition. The Georgian rubrick is this: "*Then the King arising the Dean of Westminster takes the Armill from the Master of the Great Wardrobe and putteth it about His Majesty's Neck, and tieth it to the Bowings of his Arms and below the Elbows, with silk strings, the Archbishop saying:* Receive this Armill as a token of Divine Mercy embracing thee on every side." Queen Victoria, however, wore hers pendant like a priest's stole. When Edward I.'s grave was opened in 1774, he was found vested in a dalmatica of red silk

[1] This is very strongly expressed in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, ii. 26, 33.

damask, a mantle of crimson satin clasped on the shoulders by a large gilded morse, with imitation gems and pearls, and a stole of rich white pearl-embroidered tissue *crossed over his breast.* A sceptre was in his hand.

Elizabeth had "two gartares uppon her hands." These were doubtless the silk strings of the Armill, which the devise for James I. calls the "Coller." An "armilla" is something put about the lower arm (armus), and the word undoubtedly once signified a bracelet (see Ducange). It has been held, therefore, by Taylor and other ritualists that there is an old-standing confusion between the Stole and the Bracelets.[1] A fifteenth-century Ordo speaks of the "traditio Armillarum." Bracelets of gold were worn by Mary Tudor, and were among the Regalia destroyed in 1649, and a new pair, now in the Tower, were made after the Restoration. The Lambeth MS. of Charles I.'s Coronation substitutes "Receive the Bracelets of Sinceritye and Wisdom" for "the Armill." And in Walsingham's account of Richard II. we read: "There was cast about his neck a stole. . . . Then two earls girded him with a sword. Which done, archiepiscopus armillas dedit ei, dicens: *Accipe armillas*," etc. Maskell[2] hardly deals with the matter satisfactorily. Yet it must be

[1] In Richard Thomson's *Coronation Processions*, published in 1820, mention is made of the "Great Bracelet."

[2] *Monumenta*, ii. p. 29, *n.*

admitted that *Liber Regalis* speaks of "armills" being cast about the neck "stole-wise." The use of the singular "armilla" begins with Henry VII., but it is not even then invariable. The Bracelets now in the Tower are of fine chased gold, edged with pearls. Saul, it will be remembered, wore this ensign of royalty when he fell on Mount Gilboa (2 Sam. i. 10).

Charles II.'s Armill (and also Queen Victoria's) had a cross patee, gules on argent, embroidered at either end, with gold bullion fringe. But it is not necessary for a stole to be thus ornamented.

49 The *Royal Robe*, Pall, Mantle, or Open Cope,[1] is called in recent Orders until 1902 (and by Sandford, *temp.* Jac. II.) the Dalmatick Robe, a term applied, as we have seen, to the Supertunica also, and sometimes even to the linen Colobium. Mr. Davenport describes Queen Victoria's Pallium, which I have examined, as 65 inches in length, of cloth of gold edged with bullion. It was clasped by a golden morse with silver edge, bearing the figure of an imperial eagle in repoussé between sprays of rose, shamrock, and thistle. The inwoven design is a branched pattern arranged in ovals, outlined in purple silk, and caught together by silver coronets and silver flower de luces alternately. In the spaces

[1] Fr. Thurston (*Tablet*, May 31, 1902, p. 846) maintains that the Pall "is not a cope at all, far less a chasuble; it is merely the square royal mantle, *regalis imperii pallium*."

are Tudor roses, shamrocks, thistles, and silver (at one time golden) eagles.

The eagles, symbolizing that Britain is an independent empire, have been worn by our Kings—"emperors of Albion"—since Saxon times, and are prescribed in the old rubrick. For James II., however, Sandford tells us, there was not time to embroider the "dalmatick" with these, and there was used "a very rich gold and purple brocarded Tissue, shot with gold thread, with large flowers of gold frosted and little silver flowers." The one worn in 1911 will be the magnificent robe made for George IV.

The rubrick for the Hanoverian Coronations, after "*put upon the King standing*," adds: "the Crimson Robe which he wore before being first taken off by the Lord Great Chamberlain." As Dr. Wickham Legg remarks, this direction is not easy to understand. The "Parliament Robe" must for the Georges have been removed for the Anointing (being then taken into St. Edward's Chapel), and in the case of William IV. there is an express direction for the putting on of the Supertunica.

The regal Pallium (to be distinguished from an archbishop's) had probably a military origin, and was that "purple robe" with which Herod's men of war mocked the "King of the Jews."

There is no formula in any French Coronation

Service for the delivery of Armills or of Pallium. The 1902 formula is somewhat shortened.

Charles I., who wore a purple train six yards long in the procession, and a black velvet robe—so D'Ewes, but Sancroft says "a short Robe of red velvet lin'd with Ermins"—after the retirement to St. Edward's Chapel, was ceremoniously vested—the day being the Purification—in a white pallium, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. Whitelocke gives the prosaic explanation that "the King's robe was of white satten, because (as some say) purple could not be then had." The astrologer Lilly, writing before the King's death, says:—

"The occasion of the prophets calling him *White King* was this, the Kings of England antiently did weare the day of their Coronation *purple cloathes*, being colour onely fit for Kings. Contrary unto this custome, and led unto it by the indirect and fatall advise of William Laud, Abp. of Canterbury, hee was persuaded to apparell himself the day of his Coronation in a *White Garment*. There were some dehorted him, but hee obstinately refused their Counsell. Canterbury would have it as an apparell representing the King's innocency."

Heylin felt it "foresignified that he should divest himself of his regal majesty, which might have kept him from affront and scorn." The colour is said to be an ill-omened one for princes.[1] Richard II. for his Coronation rode from the

[1] See Jennings' *Rosicrucians*.

Tower to Westminster all in white. De Quincey says that after Charles I.'s death it was remembered that "white was the ancient colour for a victim," and, further, that he suffered before his own White Hall. Herbert, who attended him to his silent burial, says: "The snow fell so fast that, by the time the corpse came to the west end of the royal chapel, the black velvet pall was all white (the colour of innocency). Thus went the White King to his grave."

50 Together with the Pallium there has been delivered, since James II., the Orb, and the mystical significance formerly ascribed to the four corners of the Mantle (originally square, but for Charles II. $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards by $2\frac{1}{8}$ yards), viz., that the four quarters of the world are subject to Christ, is transferred to the "Orb set under the Cross."

The Orb, Mound, or "World," is figured in the Bayeux tapestry, and signifies independent sovereignty "under the Cross." But the best ritualists identify it with the cross-bearing sceptre, and consider the separate delivery of it an error. (It is shown from William I. till the Tudors with a very elongated cross, and the round sphere of the Sceptre may perhaps answer to the Orb itself. For Henry VIII. the stem was replaced by an amethyst.) As the Sovereign has only two hands, the Orb has to be sent back to the altar

before the Sceptres are delivered. William and Mary sent their Orbs back after their rings were put on.

"When the Orb was put into [Queen Victoria's] hand, she said to [Lord John Thynne]: 'What am I to do with it?' 'Your Majesty is to carry it, if you please, in your hand.' 'Am I?' she said; 'it is very heavy'" (Greville).

CAP. XI

Investiture by Ring and Staff

51 Until William and Mary the Ring and Sceptres were delivered to the King *already crowned.* For the Sceptre is the truest emblem of regality. Perhaps this seemed to Bishop Compton an anti-climax, and since 1689 the Crowning has come last, save for the delivery of the Bible. In the Anglo-Saxon Orders also the Ring was delivered earlier.

Mary's ring (now in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Portland) is thus described by herself:—

"This Ruby so set was given me by the Prince three days after we wear married w^{ch} being the first thing he gave me I have ever had a perticular esteem for it when I was to be crowned I had it made big enough for y^{e} finger for y^{e} occasion but by mistake it was put on y^{e} King's finger and

I had to put on [his?]. Mine was designed for him, but we changed & I have worn it ever since till last thursday y^e 17/4 of Nov. 1689 y^e stone dropt out at diner I was extremely troubled at it upon the account forementioned, therefore having found it lockit up for fear of y^e like mischance again."

52 There was also a mishap with Queen Victoria's Coronation ring, which was made (like William IV.'s) with a sapphire instead of the usual ruby.[1] It had been made for her little finger, which she extended; but Archbishop Howley insisted that it must be put on "the fourth finger of the right hand," and it was forced on, but with so much difficulty that it could only be removed afterwards by the Queen holding the finger in iced water (Greville).

The fourth finger of the right hand is the ancient "marrying finger," as it is called in the Orders for Mary I. and James I., and this Ring, or "gold Regal," was styled the "Wedding Ring of England." The French metrical history of the dethronement of Richard II. says:—

"The Archbishops took the costly ring of the realm, wherewith they are wont to espouse their Kings, which is, say they, their peculiar right. They bare it between them to the Constable, a notable knight, Lord Percy, and when he had taken the ring he showed it openly to all who were there present. Then he kneeled down and put it upon the

[1] The sapphire was inset with a ruby cross, and circled with diamonds.

King's right hand by way of espousal. But I would not give a farthing for it, because this office was performed without right or justice."

Henry IV. exhibited it at his Coronation as delivered to him by his predecessor in token of his will that he should succeed him. At the time of Wyatt's rebellion, Queen Mary told the London citizens that "on the day of her Coronation, when the ring which she wears was put on her finger, she purposed accepting the realm of England and its entire population as her children." In the same way Elizabeth, when urged by the Commons after her Coronation to enter holy wedlock, held up in reply her finger with the ring upon it, saying that England was her husband, espoused to her by this pledge, and Englishmen were her children, nor could she deem herself barren or her life unprofitable while she was employed in rearing and ruling such a family.

Sancroft seems to have designed a new form —which, however, was not used—for James II. :

"Receive this Ring as a Pledge of the Mariage that is between the King and his People. And Remember that as God has made You, our Lord and King, a Husband to your People, so it is your Majesties part to Love and Govern them & to Provide for their Welfare, as it is theirs to pay You their Affection and Obedience. And Thou Lord that hast made this happy mariage by Thy good Providence, Prosper Thou Thy owne Handy work, keep his Ma^{ty} & his People together in Love Inviolable, & in

faithful performance of all their duties, to our comfort & to the glory of Thy Name, through," etc. (*Three Coronation Orders*, ed. Wickham Legg, p. xviii.)

Mixed marriages seldom end happily. Non-jurors may have considered, however, that the Church regards matrimony as indissoluble.

This ring of James II. had a history before and after. It was originally a favourite trinket of his ancestress, Mary of Scotland. When she suffered "the long divorce of steel," she sent it to her son James VI., from whom it passed to Charles I., and he, before his decollation, transmitted it to his son by the hands of Bishop Juxon. When James II. tried to escape, he "kept the diamond bodkin which he had of the Queen's and the Coronation Ring, which for more security he put into his drawers." The hoy on which he had embarked at Sheerness was boarded by fifty or sixty fishermen, who dragged and pushed the King from the cabin. One was certain it was Father Petre by his lantern jaws. Another called him "an old hatchet-faced Jesuit"; a third, "a cunning old rogue." Finally he was roughly searched for money and valuables.

"At last one of the sailors, feeling about the King's knee, got hold of the diamond bodkin, and cried out, with the usual oath, he had found a prize, but the King boldly declared he was mistaken. He had indeed scissors, a tooth-pick case, and little keys in his pocket, and what he

felt was undoubtedly one of these articles. The man still seemed incredulous, and rudely thrust his hand into the King's pocket; but in his haste he lost hold of the diamond bodkin, and, finding the things the King mentioned, remained satisfied it was so. By this means the bodkin and ring were preserved" (*Memoirs of James II.*, ed. Clarke).

This ring descended as an heirloom to Cardinal York (Henry IX.), the last of the Stuart line, by whom it was bequeathed with other relics of his unfortunate race to George III. It now belongs to his present Majesty.

53 The medieval Orders do not specify any particular finger, and the especial grace connected with the delivery of the Ring is in the case both of King and of Consort not matrimonial, but the "sealing of catholique faith." The form for the consecration of the Ring used till James II. (in whose case these hallowings were discontinued) contained a remarkable expression :—

"Blesse + O Lord and sancti + fie this Ring and send downe upon it thie holy Spirrit, that thy Servant wearing it may be sealed with the Ring of faith, and by the power of the Highest be preserved from sin. And let all the blessings w^{ch} are found in holy Scriptures plentifully descend upon him, that whatsoever he shall sanctify may be holy, and whatsoever he shall blesse may be blessed."

—referring, probably, in part to the blessing of the cramp-rings (see below). The ancient "Accipe" spoke of the Prince thus sealed as the "authour

and stablisher of Christianity and Christian faith," and the phrase, "solemnly invested in the government," was till George III. "consecrated Head." The Ring until Stuart times was blessed with holy water.

A ring of St. Edward is said to have been anciently preserved at his shrine, of which the following tale is told in the *Golden Legend:* "A certain 'fayre old man' having asked an alms of the Confessor, he, having nothing at hand to bestow, and his almoner not being present, gave him the ring. Some while after two English pilgrims lost their way in the Holy Land,

'when there came to them a fayr ancient man wyth whyte heer for age. Thenne the olde man axed theym what they were and of what regyon. And they answerde that they were pylgryms of England, and hadde lost theyr fellyship and way also. Thenne thys olde man comforted theym goodly, and brought theym into a fayre cytee: and whanne they had well refreshed theym and rested there alle nyhte, on the morne this fayre olde man went with theym and brought theym in the ryght waye agayne. And he was gladde to here theym talke of the welfare and holynesse of theyr kynge saynt Edward. And whan he shold departe fro theym, thenne he tolde theym what he was, and sayd, I am JOHAN THE EVANGELYST; and saye ye unto Edward your Kyng that I grete him well by the token that he gaff to me thys rynge with hys one handes, whych rynge ye shalle delyver to hym agayn. And whan he had delyvered to them the rynge he departed fro theym sodenly.'"

This legend is commemorated over the gate

leading into Dean's Yard, in the glass of one of the eastern windows of the Abbey Church, and on the screen which divides the Confessor's shrine from the Quire. Maskell (ii. p. xxi, *n.*) doubts, however, whether this ring was used for Coronations. One account says it was buried with St. Edward. Certainly no one ring was in England or France considered essential, as the Chair was and is with us. Thus Henry VI. mentions—

"a ryng of gold, garnyshed with a fayr rubie, sometyme geven unto us by our bel oncle the cardinal of Englande, with the whiche we were sacred in the day of our coronacion at Parys, delivered unto Matthew Phelip to breke, and thereof to make an other ryng for the quene's wedding ring."

It was, however, from an efficacy against the falling sickness residing in St. Edward's mysterious Ring that the power ascribed to our Sovereigns of blessing cramp-rings arose. The splendid sapphire belonging to this ring is now in the cross above the State crown. Gardiner wrote to Ridley of "the special gift of curation ministered to the kings of this realm." The rings were blessed on Good Friday, the King prostrating himself before the Rood, and the office in English may be found in Maskell,[1] the Latin in Wilkins and in Burnet. This *charisma*, and that of touching for the "evil," were held

[1] *Monumenta*, iii. p. 391, *et seq.*

to be communicated by the sacramental unction with chrism. Bishop Bull connected it with our Lord's evangelical promise.[1] Dr. Johnson, as is well known, was touched in infancy by Queen Anne, and the power was claimed a good while longer by the exiled dynasty. Cramp-rings, however, were last blessed by Henry VIII. and by Mary.

The transferring of a ring (as by Pharaoh to Joseph, Ahasuerus to Haman and Mordecai, Tiberius to Caligula) has always especially signified the imparting of royal authority. When a ring was placed on the hand of the Prodigal Son, it seems to have signified a reinvestment with domestic authority, or at least dignity, and to typify the kingliness of the redeemed. By the twelfth century pontifical dignity came to be distinctively denoted by the ring, which was not conferred even on mitred abbots.

The idea of a marriage between the King and his people has, of course, an equally typical significance. As regards the fourth finger of the *right* hand being, since Henry VII., presented, Heylin[2] quotes Rastel's reply to Jewel (1565): "Where did you ever read that the man should put the wedding-ring upon the fourth finger of the left hand of the woman, and not on the right, as hath been many years continued?" The

[1] *Works*, vol. i. p. 133. [2] *Ecclesia Restaurata*, ii. 430.

Eastern Church prescribes the right, the Roman Church usually the left.[1] The Sarum Manual is not explicit. A bishop's ring is regarded as wedding him to his diocese, and until 1858 at Cambridge doctors received a ring of espousal to their several faculties.

The espousal of the King of England to his people recalls the Doge of Venice wedding the Adriatic with a ring.

The celebrated Régale of France was offered by Louis VII. at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

54 *Investiture with the Sceptres.*—The Ring, which was delivered on a crimson cushion to the Archbishop by the Lord Chamberlain, being placed on the King's finger, an interesting feudal service is performed by the Lord of the Manour of Worksop (his Grace the Duke of Newcastle), who presents a right-hand glove, by which service (as the rubrick used to state) he claims to hold certain lands. The 1838 Order speaks of "a pair of rich Gloves." These are to be distinguished from the gloves of fine lawn which were formerly put on after the anointing of the hands; but confusion arose at an early date. The *Liber Regalis* speaks of "chirothecæ," and "roiall gloves" were put on Henry VII.'s hands

[1] See, however, Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus*, ed. Venet., 1783, ii. 128.

"by the Cardynall." Certainly neither a King nor a Bishop would be fully vested without them. On the effigy of Cœur de Lion in the abbey at Fontevraud the royal gloves are shown, with a large jewel on the back; and the same on his father Henry II.'s effigy. In the Norman-French version of *Liber Regalis* belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is a picture of a coronation,[1] in which a lay courtier stands at the King's right hand holding two white gloves. But sometimes (as for Richard II.) a single red glove and "the gloved hand" are spoken of. The glove was blessed by the Archbishop. The Lord of Worksop and his claim do not appear in the rubrick till Charles II. The glove is embroidered with the donor's arms.

Here follow in the old Orders the Oblation and Redemption of the Sword.

55 The older formulas used at the delivery of the Sceptres were very much changed for James II. There was retained, however, the very ancient phrase, "Defend the Holy Church and Christian people committed by God unto thy charge," which was expunged for William and Mary, and has so remained. The 1902 formula is somewhat abbreviated.

"Sceptred kings" are spoken of by Homer,

[1] See Green's *Short History*, illus. edit., vol. i. p. 414; and *Three Coronation Orders*, ed. Wickham Legg.

and dying Israel prophesied, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah until Shiloh come" (Gen. xlix. 10). No symbol of royalty is more ancient. The Coronation is the only occasion when our Kings carry two sceptres, surmounted by especial symbols of the Christian faith—the Cross and the Dove. The first sceptre signifies kingly power and justice; the second is usually called the Rod, Verge, or Warder, and signifies equity and mercy. There is no allusion to spiritual and temporal authority.

When Rudolph I. was crowned Emperor, the Crown jewels had been dispersed, and there was no sceptre at hand; whereupon he took up the crucifix, saying that the symbol of the world's redemption might well serve for a sceptre.

In "Alfred's Jewel" at Oxford the figure, which some take to represent our Lord, bears two sceptres. Martene says that the ancient Frankish Kings were invested with a spear in place of a sceptre.

The Hand of Justice, which appears in the French rite, was also used in the imperial Coronations of East and West. At the end of an ivory sceptre is a hand having the thumb and first two fingers extended. Some have connected this symbol with the regal *charisma* of healing by touch. But if so, whence its name?

56 It has been mentioned above (p. 125) that the

Orb set under the Cross was not delivered until James II., and that it is probably the same as the Baculus, or Sceptre with Cross. This is borne out by the Device for Charles I., which says nothing about the Orb, but mentions *three* sceptres—"the Scepter wth y^{e} Crosse, the long Scepter, and the Rod wth y^{e} Dove." Laud remarks that the "long sceptre," though not mentioned in *Liber Regalis*, was used at James I.'s Coronation. But in 1626 the King was embarrassed by it, and sent it back to the Bishop of London, saying: "Sure, there is no use for this." Clearly, some confusion had arisen. Among the Regalia destroyed in the Great Rebellion were, in the Tower, a globe, two sceptres, and "a long rodd of silver gilt"; and, taken from the Abbey, a staff of black and white ivory, bound with gold, having a dove on the top; another staff with dove, the material being wood covered with silver gilt; and two sceptres, "one sett with pearles and stones, the upper end gould, the lower end silver; the other silver gilt, with a dove, formerly thought gould." For Charles II. were made a globe with diamonds, two sceptres, and St. Edward's Staff.[1]

57 The Sceptre with Dove, called by Cranmer

[1] At the preceding Coronation "The prebends of Westminster meeting the King at his entrance into y^{e} Church delivered into his Hand y^{e} Staff of K. Edward y^{e} Confessor; with which he walkt up to y^{e} Scaffold" (Sancroft's notes). It is a pity the Monarch should not carry the staff on entering. It is of gold, with a mound and cross at one end and a steel pike at the other.

"the sceptre with the Holy Ghost on the top," has been used by all our Kings since the Confessor, on one of whose seals it is shown. The two sceptres are combined in the insignia of the Divine Shepherd or Ruler in Psalm xxiii.—*virga tua et baculus tuus.*

Until 1689 this ended the deliveries and investitures. "Which done," we read of Charles II., "the King kneeled and held both Sceptres whilst the Arch-Bishop blessed him." The Sceptre Royal is 2 feet $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, "a marvellous and beautiful piece of jewellery," and the Rod with Dove nearly 10 inches longer. The Dove is enamelled white, and stands on a golden and jewelled globe.

At Charles I.'s Coronation Oldmixon records, "the left wing of the Dove, the mark of the Confessor's halcyon days, was broken on the Sceptre staff, by what casualty God Himself knows," but, on the King insisting that it must be mended, this was hastily done. Fuller speaks of the omen as "a maim on the emblem of peace," and Stanley as "the first infringement on the old regalia."

CAP. XII

The Crowning

"The hallowed crown
Shall round the mortal temples of a king."
—Shakespeare, *Richard III.*

"Not a king merely, this crowned creature in his sworded state, but the Justice of God in his eternal Law."—Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest.*

58 This has come to be regarded as the especial symbol of regality, so that the Sovereign is styled impersonally "the Crown." A closed crown, like the English, denotes hereditary and independent monarchy; an open one denotes elective or dependent monarchy. The splendid diadem of Christian IV., for instance, is no longer used by the Kings of Denmark, being open. Tunstall told Henry VIII.: "Your Grace is not, nor never sithen the Christen faith the Kings of England were subgiet to th' Empire. But the crown of England is an empire of hitselff, much better than now the empire of Rome: for which cause your Grace werith a close crown." In Acts of this reign the expression "imperial crown" is used, and it occurs frequently in the rubricks of the 1603 Coronation, after Elizabeth's death.

"Corona," however, does not mean a diadem, but a wreath or chaplet. The incorruptible "crown of life" promised in Holy Scripture is

a garland that fadeth not away. But the chaplets of victory cast at the foot of the throne turn into kingly crowns, so that the "King of kings and Lord of lords" has at last upon His head "many diadems." In the early ages of Christianity Kings frequently dedicated their crowns to the Redeemer, hanging them, as *donaria*, above the Holy Table. Such a votive crown is the Emperor Barbarossa's great circlet of enamelled copper over the tomb of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle. Cnut placed his on the head of the Crucified in Winchester Cathedral.

The outward symbols of kingship were repugnant to the ancient exclusive democracies, and the transition from the leafy bandage, or its successor the golden riband or fillet, to the royal diadem, was at first greatly distasted at Rome. An *Imperator* was merely a successful leader of armies, whose power was from below, but a King claimed a sacred office and authority from heaven. This is the significance of Mark Antony's words over Cæsar's body. Antony had offered him a "diadem twined with a laurel garland"—

> "You all did see that on the Lupercal
> I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
> Which he did thrice refuse."

Napoleon Buonaparte crowned himself in Notre Dame with a wreath of golden laurel, but he

had also a costly imperial diadem made for himself.

59 In the older Coronation Orders two Crowns are mentioned—that of St. Edward for the crowning, which should not have within it the velvet Cap of Estate—originally, Mr. Hope shows, the symbol of the lordship of Aquitaine and Normandy—and the Crown Imperial (but in post-Revolution Orders, till George II., there is some confusion about the names), the second, or Crown of State, set with gems and containing the Cap of Estate, being a lighter ornament which is put on in St. Edward's Chapel at the close of the solemnity, to be worn the rest of the day. The latter, however, was not worn by King William IV. or Queen Victoria, since no Banquet was to follow.

Like Edward VI., Mary (and perhaps Elizabeth) had three crowns placed on her head, "and betwixt the putting on of every crown the trumpets did blow." Perhaps the Tudors considered the ancient St. Edward's crown not "imperial" enough. Then, the Crown Imperial being very heavy, a third was required. Louis XVI. of France received first the crown of Charlemagne, and then one set with diamonds.

The crown of the Holy Roman Empire, called Charlemagne's Crown, is preserved at Vienna. It was certainly made not later than A.D. 1138. Other historic diadems are the Iron Crown of

Lombardy, inside the circle of which there is a narrow ring of iron, said to be a Nail of the Cross—Napoleon placed it on his brows in 1805; the Crown of St. Stephen of Hungary, which has seen many remarkable adventures since it was given by Pope Sylvester II. to King Stephen, A.D. 1000: it was abstracted in 1849 by Kossuth, but found hidden in a field and placed safely with the Hungarian Regalia at Buda-Pesth; the Crown of Bohemia's patron saint, St. Wenceslaus, murdered by his brother in 936, with which Bohemians hope some day to see their Emperor crowned at Prague; and the "Cap of Vladimir Monomachus," preserved at Moscow. The royal diadem of Scotland, with which the infant Queen Mary was crowned, seems to be a sixteenth-century reconstruction of the Bruce's crown (A.D. 1314). Unhappily England has no historic Regal. Among the kingly ornaments "by order of the parliament totally broken and defaced" in 1649 were (besides "a small crowne" identified as Edward VI.'s) two very ancient jewels. One is called in the inventory "King Alfred's crowne of goulde wyerworke (*i.e.* filigree), sett with slight stones and 2 little bells," weighing $79\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, and another described as "Queen Edith's crowne," of "silver gilt, enriched with garnetts, foule pearle, saphires, and some odd stones," weighing $50\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. They were sold

for the weight of the metal. Yet it is not impossible that these crowns found in an iron chest in the Pyx Chapel may have belonged to Alfred and Edith. Spelman at an earlier date speaks of an inscription in the chest identifying "the ancientest crown" as the one with which "Ælfredus, Edwardus," etc., were crowned. Robert of Gloucester, *temp.* Henry III., affirms that Pope Leo IV. specially consecrated it for Alfred, and that it was then still in existence. The same crown would also, no doubt, be the Confessor's, and having this history there was every motive for preserving it. Alfred is thought to have been the first Saxon King to wear a crown. But Holinshed (iii. p. 16) says that Mulmucius Dunwallon, anno mundi 3529, "ordeined him by the advise of his lords a crowne of gold . . . and bicause he was the first that bare a crowne heere in Britaine, after the opinion of some he is named the first King of Britaine."

Antony Wood (*Athenæ Oxonienses*) describes Henry Marten the republican dressing up the poet George Wither in

"the Crown, Robes, Sword and Scepter belonging antiently to K. *Edw.* the Confessor, and used by all our Kings at their inaugurations, and with a scorn greater than his lusts and the rest of his vices he openly declared that *there should be no further use of these toyes and trifles.*" Wither "being crown'd and royally arrayed did first march about the room with a stately garb, and afterwards with a thousand apish

and rediculous actions exposed those sacred ornaments to contempt and laughter."

The total value of the Regalia was put at £2647, 18s. 4d. To remake the Crown jewels a few years later cost £31,978, 9s. 11d., besides the vestments, "all which doe now reteyne the old names and fashion." The nearly successful attempt of Blood and his accomplices to carry off the Regalia from the Tower in 1671 is too well known a story to be repeated here. The brazen and amusing villain, though he avowed to Charles II. that he had been in a plot to shoot him, was pardoned, received into favour, given a pension of £500 a year, and "died peacefully in his bed on the 29th of August 1680, fearlessly, and without the signs of penitence, totally hardened, and forsaken by Heaven."

Queen Victoria's State Crown was made by Messrs. Rundell and Bridge. It contained 5 rubies, 11 emeralds, 17 sapphires, 277 pearls, and 2783 diamonds (Davenport). The sapphire associated with St. Edward was valued a century ago at £110,000. The noble sapphire in front was bequeathed to George III. with the Stuart reliques. The great ruby—or, rather, garnet—was given in 1367 to the Black Prince by the Castilian King, Don Pedro the Cruel, who had murdered the Red King of Granada for its possession. Henry V. was wearing it at Agincourt—

George III. was always proud to have ascended the throne on the anniversary of that victory—when the duc d'Alençon struck off a piece of the crown. It is the "fair ruby, great, like a rocket-ball," which Elizabeth showed to the envoy of her Scottish rival.

George IV.'s Crown, and that, it seems, of Elizabeth, had a cap of blue velvet; but crimson velvet has been the rule, turned up with miniver.

60 In 1821, while the Lord High Steward, the Marquess of Anglesea, was carrying the Crown to be laid on the altar, the ponderous jewel slipped from his hands, but was recovered by him before it reached the ground. It had been remade for George IV. at a cost of £54,000. The royal Robes cost £24,000. Haydon, however, in his *Autobiography*, says that the Crown was hired from Rundell and Bridge for nearly £11,000; and Greville in 1831 advised Queen Adelaide to follow the late King's example.[1]

Hoveden tells us that Cœur de Lion's crown was upheld by two Earls, because of its great weight. "Elle me gêne," said Louis XVI. prophetically. To Princess Elizabeth, in 1553, complaining of the weight of her coronet, "Have patience," Noailles said; "you will soon exchange it for a crown." Mary of Orange, when fully

[1] *Memoirs*, August 10, 1831.

invested, was commiserated by the Princess Anne, who said: "Madam, I pity your fatigue." "A crown, sister," she sharply replied, "is not so heavy as it seems." That Coronation was delayed two hours by news of the landing of James II. in England, and Lord Nottingham had brought Mary a letter from the King, in which he said that

"hitherto he had made all fatherly excuses for what she had done, and had wholly attributed her part in the Revolution to obedience to her Husband; but the act of being crowned was in her own power, and if she were crowned while he and the Prince of Wales were living, the curse of an outraged father would light on her, as well as that of God, who has commanded duty to parents."

Burnet himself confesses that in his thoughts he blamed a certain levity in her deportment at first occupying her father's palace. That his daughters should have sided with his enemies stabbed that unhappily-advised King, when he first heard it, to the heart. Mary's preoccupation may be compared with that of George IV., uncertain whether Queen Caroline had succeeded in entering the building or no.

The modern crowns are certainly much heavier than the simpler and more artistic medieval ones. Kings in those days—like Saul on Gilboa—wore their crowns commonly in battle. Richard III. at Bosworth concealed his crown in a thorn-bush.

61 *Layeth it upon the Altar.*—Till the seventeenth century the Crown was aspersed with holy water and censed. Richard I., we read, took it himself from the altar and gave it to the Archbishop, who placed it on his head. The Lutheran King of Prussia crowns himself; but the Kings of Norway were always crowned by the Bishop of Drontheim, and those of Sweden by the Archbishop of Upsala. The Catholic Sovereigns of Spain formerly received the crown from archiepiscopal hands and placed it on their own brows. When Buonaparte was inaugurated at Paris on December 2, 1804, the captive Pope, after anointing him and Josephine, blessed their crowns, and, leaving them on the altar, retired to his seat. The self-made Emperor then advanced and crowned himself and the Empress, while the Pope recited the prayer *Coronet vos Deus*, etc. It was to signify the independence of his sovereignty that Charlemagne, in 813, before his own decease, caused his son Louis to take the golden circle from the altar at Aix-la-Chapelle and crown himself with it. Louis XVI. had the diadem supported on his head by "six lay and six ecclesiastical peers."

The earliest Anglo-Saxon Ordo says: "Here let all the bishops take the helmet (*galerus*) and put it on his head." The representation in miniatures (*e.g.* Edward I.'s) of two Bishops

extending each a hand to sustain the crown seems to be symbolical of the Church supporting the State. When the Emperor Frederick II. made himself King of Jerusalem in 1228, he put the crown on his own head, because, being excommunicated, no priest even would celebrate the liturgy for him. Our Queen Elizabeth was almost left in the same plight.

62 The prayer, "O God, the Crown of the faithful," is an amalgamation of three prayers, of which the first, till 1685, was a benediction of the Crown. The 1902 Order restores the Collect used for James II., which has the phrases "Bless and sanctify this thy Servant," and "the King Eternal" before "Jesus Christ." But while the ancient words, "Who now in lowly devotion boweth his head to Thy Divine Majesty," are gone, the direction to the King to bow is retained.

63 *The Peers, etc.*—"The effect," wrote Scott in 1821, "was really august." The 1838 rubrick ran: "The Peers, etc. (*sic*), put on their Coronets and Caps." "Caps" perhaps referred to the Bishops, and at an earlier date to the Barons. Before the seventeenth century Bishops had mitres. If mitres are revived, they can only be worn by the Bishops who wear copes. In the last rubrick of the Rite the episcopal caps are not mentioned in the 1902 Order. Were mitres worn, or at any rate carried, by the Prelates at George II.'s

Coronation? Mons. Cæsar de Saussure, who was present, in his *A Foreign View of England* (Murray, 1902), describes them in this book. The Bishops are said to have worn copes and carried mitres of cloth of silver; the Archbishop of York's cope and mitre were cloth of gold.

Till the nineteenth century the two gentlemen representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine also covered themselves at this point. The prelates, too, put on their Caps. But until James II. Barons (who had no Coronets till Charles II.'s reign) and Bishops remained at this point bareheaded, though D'Ewes[1] relates that in 1626 the Bishops put on their caps, the Barons alone continuing bare. All Coronets, even that of the Prince of Wales, are ungemmed.

64 *The great Guns.*—It was regarded as an omen that at the moment the signal was given for James II. the royal standard on the White Tower was rent across by the wind. The canopy carried over the King in the Procession also broke. And Echard,[2] a contemporary, notes that the same day the royal arms fell from the window of one of the chief London churches.

65 *God crown, etc.*—A revival of the ancient prayer *Deus te coronet.* Afterwards came *Be strong and of a good courage*, sung till the seventeenth

[1] *Autobiography.*
[2] *History of England*, iii. 735.

century as an anthem, and thereafter made part of the address. But in 1902 a musical echo of this *Confortare*, consisting of seventeen bars, was sung by the choir, and this has been retained in the 1911 Service as an antiphon. The anthem sung for the Stuarts and during the nineteenth century was "The King shall rejoice in Thy strength" (*Deus, in virtute*). The one sung at the Coronation of the first three Georges contained the verse (Isa. xlix. 23), "Kings shall be thy Nursing Fathers and Queens thy Nursing Mothers."

CAP. XIII

Presenting of the Holy Bible

66 This ceremony dates from William and Mary. Camden[1] avers that it was introduced at the Reformation, and only omitted for James II. Macaulay[2] throws this omission in the teeth of James, who suppressed, he says, much greater scruples, and the charge has been repeated by Stanley and by Bishop Charles Wordsworth.[3] But it seems to rest merely on Bale's story that Edward VI., when the three Swords were borne before him, observed that one was yet wanting, viz. the Bible, which was the Sword of the Spirit.

[1] *Remains*, p. 371. [2] *History*, i. 232, ed. 1877.
[3] *Shakespeare's Knowledge of the Bible*, p. 282, *n.*

The young King proposed to substitute the Bible for St. George in the insignia of the Garter. When Cromwell was inaugurated on June 26, 1653, he was invested by "Master Speaker" with "a Robe of purple Velvet lined with ermine, being the habit anciently used at the solemn investiture of the Princes," a sword and a sceptre "of massy gold," and there was also delivered to him "a larg Bible richly guilt and boss'd," accompanied by an address, in which Alexander and Aristotle figure. Elizabeth was presented with a Bible during her progress from the Tower, and with upward gaze pressed it to her heart. Charles II. received a like gift at his landing. Though not usually a hypocrite, he declared it was the thing he loved above all things in the world (Pepys). But the earliest Coronation at which any such ceremony took place was that of 1689. Bishop Compton is not likely to have desired to recall dangerous memories by any avowed imitation of precedents of the Protectorate, which Burnet styled the "blackest and cruellest usurpation which ever was," and, indeed, any innovations in a Whig direction would have been jealously resented, and were studiously avoided. The delivery of the Holy Bible in the consecration of a King was probably suggested by a similar ceremony at the consecration of a Bishop—a Bible given by the Archbishop since the

Reformation, the Holy Gospels (after the delivery of the other episcopal ornaments) before it.

67 *Our Gracious King; we present You, etc.*—This address has been much shortened in recent Coronations, especially King Edward's. Previously there was a reference to Deut. xvii. 15, 18–20, and 2 Kings xi. 12. Till 1902 the Metropolitan was accompanied by other Prelates.

68 *To be reverently placed again upon the Holy Altar.*—This direction dates from George II.'s Coronation. In presenting a crucifix to the Benedictines of Beuron, November 13, 1910, the Kaiser Wilhelm II. told them: "My crown gives me no warrant of success unless it be founded on the Word and Personality of the Lord."

CAP. XIV

The Benediction

69 This Blessing resembles the benedictory prayers of the medieval service, shortened in 1626 and 1661 to a single clause, followed by a short prayer for the clergy and people. From 1685 to 1838 it was much fuller and more resonant. The Fleets, as well as Armies, were first recognised in George II.'s Order.

70 *All the Bishops.* — Fuller[1] says: "Then every Bishop came severally to his Majesty to bring his Benediction upon him, and he in K. *Edward's* Robes, with the Crown upon his head, rose from his Chair and did bow severally to every Bishop apart." But during the archiepiscopal blessing the King was kneeling. So Charles II. is described as kneeling with a sceptre in either hand.

At the end of the Benediction George IV.'s Order, like previous ones from 1685, had the words: "The Lord give you a religious and virtuous posterity to rule these kingdoms in all ages." Princess Charlotte had died November 6, 1817. Queen Caroline had just been turned away from the doors, and died a month later. It seems incredible that the words were used. *Te Deum* followed the Benediction till 1911.

71 *Osculum Episcoporum.*—Until William IV. a ceremony which is not mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Orders, but which is Scriptural and very ancient, here followed. The rubrick ran: "The King sitting in King Edward's Chair vouchsafeth to admit the Archbishops and Bishops assisting at his Coronation to kiss his cheek, they kneeling before him one after another." In the still older rubrick the "Crowned one" himself kissed the officiant

[1] *Ch. Hist.*, p. 123.

prelates. In the Homage they and the others salute him.[1]

Greville, who alludes to this ceremony in his usual vulgar tone, and who confuses the "Bishops' Kiss" with the Kiss of Homage, records in his *Diary* that William IV. was unwilling to exchange the kiss of fellowship with the prelates at whose hands he was to receive his consecration, but that Archbishop Howley successfully remonstrated with the unecclesiastically-minded monarch. He may, as a divine, have quoted the example of Samuel kissing Saul after anointing him to be King, or the reproach to him (St. Luke vii. 45, 46) who proffered neither kiss nor oil of anointment. However, the rubrick disappeared. Yet an eye-witness[2] asserts that the custom was observed. At Stephen's Coronation it was regarded as a dark omen that the kiss, or, as some say, the benediction, was omitted.

CAP. XV

The Inthronization

72 *Lifted up.*—This (as in the French rite) is a relic of a primitive Frankish custom. The

[1] The account in the *London Gazette* of Anne's Coronation says: "Her Majesty vouchsafed to kiss the Bishops, and, being enthroned, first his Royal Highness Prince George, and then the Archbishops and Bishops, and lastly the temporal Lords, did their homage, and seemingly kissed her Majesty's left cheek."

[2] *Mirror*, Sept. 10, 1831.

phrase was "levatio," "elevare in regem"—the lifting up the new Prince upon a shield. Tacitus alludes to it.[1] Julian the Apostate was thus elevated, A.D. 360, by the soldiers, who tried to crown him, first with his wife's fillet, then with a horse's head-band, and lastly with a gold torque. The German soldiery in the Imperial Guard had introduced this rough custom into Rome and elsewhere. We read of our own Athelstan at Kingston in 925 — a thin, spare man, whose yellow hair was beautifully inwoven with threads of gold, and who wore a purple robe with a sword in a golden sheath—being borne on a buckler to the church, and tossed into the air. Gunbald, King of Burgundy, A.D. 500, the "third time they spun him round," fell to the earth. Christianity put a new and more solemn spirit into old Coronation customs.

Leslie painted Queen Victoria, "seated in her majesty," being addressed by Archbishop Howley, who looks very stately in his cope and episcopal wig. He was one of the last prelates to wear the periwig, but it was worn at the marriage of the Princess Royal in 1858.

73 *Stand firm.* — This address is called the "Designatio Status." There could not be a stronger statement of the Divine source of all authority and dignity. However popular the

[1] *Histories*, iv. 15.

practical footing of government, the "King's most excellent Majesty" and the "Majesty of the Law" are not the "majesty of the people," but the majesty of God.

"*By the Hands of Us . . . though Unworthy.*"—Similar words are used at the Delivery of the Sword, and at the Crowning of the Consort. After "approach nearer to God's Altar" (an Anglo-Saxon expression) "and to wait there" followed till George II.

74 "*Continue to Us your Royal Favour,*" *etc.*—Till James II. this ran: "Remember in places convenient You give [the Clergie] greater honour: that the Mediatour of God and man may establish You in this Kingly Throne, to be Mediatour betwixt the Clergy and the Layety, and that thou maist reigne for ever with Jesus Christ the King of Kings," etc. Such expressions were distasteful and unsuitable to a Roman Catholic Sovereign.

When Cœur de Lion was inthronized, a bat fluttered round the Throne. It may have been an emblem of his brother, John Lackland.

CAP. XVI

The Homage and Sustaining of the Crown

75 This was radically transformed in 1902, only the Princes of the Blood Royal and the

first of each Order[1] actually touching the Crown and kissing the King. And this also was shortened at the actual Coronation, so that even the words of homage were not repeated by the Peers generally. The *Homage* has not always taken place on the Coronation Day. When Henry V. succeeded to a questionable title, a number of the peers were forward to offer him their homage at once—a thing, says Hall, "not before experimented." On the other hand, the homage rendered to Richard II. at his Coronation was held by the Primate to have been irregular, Richard being then a minor, and a special Parliament was called for its renewal. Froissart says:—

"On the day appointed the King, in his royal robes with the crown on his head, heard Mass in the Chapel [St. Stephen's, where, till its destruction by fire in 1834, the Commons sate] of the palace, which is very fair and richly adorned. When service was over the King's uncles kissed him in token of homage, and swore faith and duty to him for ever. Then came the barons, prelates, and all who held anything under him, and with joined hands, as was becoming vassals, swore faith and loyalty and kissed him on the mouth. It was to be seen that the King kissed some heartily, others not; for though he kept back his feelings as much as possible, all were not in his good graces."

[1] In 1902, as at Elizabeth's consecration, the Dukes of Norfolk and of Somerset were at the head of the temporal peerage. Also in 1911.

Stanley says the same partialities were very visible in the countenance of George IV.

While but twenty-four prelates now sit in Parliament, the number of the temporal Lords has become extremely large,[1] and it has been suggested that the Homage should take place, as it did in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the day after the Coronation. Not a little would thus be lost by disconnecting it from the Coronation solemnity, and from the celebration of the Eucharist; but it would be preferable to the innovation of homage by selected peers—as one may say, by sample.

76 Homage is theoretically feudal, and connected with the tenure of lands rather than political. The homagers were anciently not only peers. At Edward I.'s Coronation, Alexander, King of Scots, did homage as a vassal; but Llewellyn of Wales "disdained to come," and was subdued. The first Prince of Wales to do homage at a Coronation was his present Majesty.

"The homage of the Heir-apparent was in some respects the most moving episode of the day. He had performed with reverential dignity the graceful ceremony of touching the King's crown and kissing him on the left cheek. Then for a moment the sovereign and the liege-man disappeared,

[1] In 1902, of the 694 peers on the roll only 411 (including 29 Bishops) did their homage. In 1838 the numbers were 593 and 330 respectively. At James II.'s Coronation 97 Lords appeared.

and only a father and a son were face to face. With a gesture of infinite tenderness the royal Sire drew to his arms his only remaining son and, in the sight of his people, embraced him; while, in the majesty of motherhood, the Queen looked on with eyes which bore the divine trace of sorrows as well as of joys" (Bodley).

77 "The Archbishop making reverence three tymes ascendeth the throne" (1626). The Lords spiritual, it is to be noted, do, strictly speaking, not Homage, but Fealty (*fidelitas episcoporum*)—the words "homage and allegiance" are left out in their writ of summons to Parliament—and do not take their place on this occasion next the Viscounts. They are not there as holders of baronies, but as the first Estate of the realm. The Bishops' fealty therefore comes before the Peers' homage, even before that of the Princes of the Blood Royal, though Anne's Consort seems to have preceded the Metropolitan. Yet at Elizabeth's Coronation Nichols says that Oglethorpe, the officiant Bishop, "put his hand to the Queenes hand and read certaine wordes to her Grace. And then the Lords went up to her Grace kneeling upon their knees and kissed her Grace. And after the Lords had done the Bysshops came one after another kneeling and kissing her Grace."[1] Either this is an error or it was exceptional. Taylor[2] says that the

[1] *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, i. p. 63.
[2] *Glory of Regality*, pp. 353–368.

Bishops originally *stood*, not becoming the King's "men" like the temporal Lords. Sancroft notes of the 1626 solemnity, "the Bishops seuerally kneeled down, but took no Oath, as y^e^ Barons did: y^e^ King kissing euery one of them." The fealty, however, is in the form of an oath. The following was the form used in the fourteenth century, as given in Maskell (ii. p. l.):—

"*Pour les seigneurs espirituels. Foiautee.*—I shall be trewe and feythefull and feith and trowth shall bere to yow our liege lord y^e^ king of England and to yowre heires kynges of England of erthely worship for to leue and deye ayeins all maner folc and . . . shalle be entendant to yowr nedis aftir my connying and power and kepe your conseil and trewly knowlech and do the seruices due of the temporaltees of my bissopricke or abbaye of *N.* whiche I clayme to hold of yow and to yow and to your comaundements as mykel as falleth to me for my temporaltees I shall be obeissant: so help me God and all his halwes."

The last words of the "homage pour les services temporels" are slightly different from the modern form. They run: "Ayeins al maner of men y^t^ may lieue and deye." Both spiritual and lay Lords in Scotland put their hands betwixt the King's hands.

The representatives of the Five Orders of the Peerage were, in 1902, the Duke of Norfolk—whose voice was heard strongly above those of the choir—the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Viscount Devereux and Lord de Ros.

They knelt on the five steps of the throne, and said the words together.

78 *They do their Homage together.*—Laud notes, in 1626: "The Arch-Bp. of Cant. did it for all: but euerye Bp. should haue done it seuerallye. Thiss was thought fitt to shorten y^e^ Ceremonye. And the Bps. wear to slowe to keepe vp their owne order and dignitye w^ch^ the Temporall L^ds^ would not depart from." At Elizabeth's Coronation, Stanley says that no Bishop was present except Oglethorpe, though Machyn's statement that there were others is probably correct, even though they declined to take part in her sacring; at William and Mary's but five attended. At Stephen's precipitate crowning, centuries earlier, there were, William of Malmesbury tells us, no Abbots, and but few of the nobility present.

79 Mary Tudor and Elizabeth were to be kissed on the cheek, Mary II. and Anne on the left "cheek or hand." William IV. and Edward VII. were kissed on the cheek; but for Queen Victoria, for the first time, the rubrick directed the hand only. The *London Gazette*, in describing the homage rendered to Anne, says that the Lords spiritual and temporal "seemingly kissed her Majesty's left cheek." Edward VI.'s Coronation is the only one at which the monarch's *foot* is said to have been kissed by the Lords as well as the left cheek, "and so did their homage

a pretty time." But Selden remarks that "kissing the feet hath been used in Europe at the doing of homage upon investitures received from great princes,[1] as we see in that of *Rollo*, first duke of *Normandy*, receiving the dutchy from *Charles* the Simple, and much more; though in later ages and at this day the kiss in homage be on the cheek or lips" (*Titles of Honour*).[2] In Psalm ii. 2, "Kiss the Son" means "do homage to the Son."

Selden says that the Kiss of Homage is so essential "that the homage hath not enough, it seems, of legal without it," quoting an Act passed to excuse the homagers of Henry VI. from giving it in a time of pestilence.

80 *The Prince of Wales.*—In 1902 for the first time in history. The Prince will be seventeen the next day, June 23rd.

81 *The Supporting of the Crown.*—The Homage is followed—but in the Scottish as in the French rite this came just after the Crowning—by the impressive ceremony of the *Sustentatio Coronæ*. The Spiritual Lords should not, it seems, take part in it, and, to Laud's regret, they were stopped in 1626 by the King from advancing

[1] Kissing the feet is, of course, an Oriental custom. See St. Luke vii. 38.

[2] In 1902, "the Archbishop, having recited the formula of homage, added with deep emotion, 'God bless you, Sir; God be with you, Sir,' and endeavoured to rise to kiss the King's cheek. But his strength failed; and though the king, with a noble gesture, took him by the hand to help him to his feet, he would have fallen had not the Bishop of Winchester sustained him" (Bodley).

with the Temporal Lords. But until George III. "Caps" as well as Coronets were to be taken off. Charles I.'s nobility, who "protested to spend their Bloods to maintain the Crown to him and his lawful Heirs," lived, many of them, to be put to the test.

82 No formula accompanies this ceremony. But in Scotland the nobles, with one hand touching the Crown, held up the other while the officiant prelate read the words, "So God not help me as I shall support thee." When Edward VI. had been kissed by the Peers, "all they holding up their hands together with one voice, on their knees," said, "We offer to sustain You and your Crown with our lives and lands and goods against all the world."

It was fancifully noted, when Mary Tudor received the homage of the nobles, that "every one of them held both their hands together in manner of lamenting."

Stanley records that after the homage of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in 1838, the House of Commons gave three times three cheers. What a picture of the mingling of the poetic and the prosaic elements in our constitution! At the previous Coronation Macaulay, who was in the Members' Gallery, mentions the rival shouts for political leaders, the Tories cheering the Duke of Wellington, "and then our people in revenge

cheered Lord Grey and Brougham." Another account says that when Brougham approached the Throne the Members, "rising *en masse*, waved hats, handkerchiefs, and programmes." Lady Georgiana Bathurst (in waiting on Queen Adelaide) records that the behaviour of the faithful Commons was that of "unruly schoolboys," and that there was even irreverent laughter in their gallery when the King arose in his imperial Robe to go to the altar. In 1838 Daniel O'Connell is said to have laughed loud and long when an aged Bishop tripped in crossing the Sanctuary. The Commons were first placed over the altar, Stanley erroneously says, in 1689. The official account of William and Mary's Coronation says that the Commons were seated "in the North Cross." They were afterwards sumptuously feasted in the Exchequer Chamber. They now sit in galleries in both transepts, above and rather behind the peers and peeresses.

83 James II.'s Queen, Mary Beatrix of Modena, long after their Coronation, mentioned "a presage that struck us and every one who observed it: they could not make the crown keep firm on the King's head; it appeared always on the point of falling, and it required some care to hold it steady." The story is well known of Henry, brother of Algernon, Sidney putting forth his hand to keep it from falling, saying as he did

so, "This is not the first time, your Majesty, that my family have supported the Crown." He was at the moment engaged in correspondence with the Prince of Orange with a view to plucking it altogether from James's brows.

84 Greville records the incident at the 1838 Coronation of the venerable Lord Rolle, who was between eighty and ninety years of age, falling as he tried to mount the steps of the Throne. He was at once raised and supported by two noblemen. The girlish Queen's "first impulse was to rise, and, when afterwards he came again to do homage, she said, 'May I not get up and meet him?' and then rose from the Throne and advanced down one or two of the steps to prevent his coming up, an act of graciousness and kindness which made a great sensation. She sent in the evening to inquire after Lord Rolle." At this pretty act, we are told, the spectators broke out into new and still louder acclamations. It was felt to be peculiarly affecting when the Duke of Sussex embraced his niece and Sovereign, and was obliged to be led off the Theatre by the Peers around him. One account of the 1831 rite says that in retiring backwards several aged peers fell.

85 During the Homage, until the last Coronation, "the Treasurer of the Household throws among the people Medals of gold and silver as the King's princely Largess or Donative." In

1838 "the noise and confusion were very great when the medals were thrown about by Lord Surrey, everybody scrambling with their might and main to get them, and none more vigorously than the Maids of Honour" (Greville). Other accounts, however, say that there was no unseemliness. The account in the *Annual Register* of George III.'s Coronation says that gold medals were thrown among the Peeresses in the Abbey, "but they thought it below their dignity to stoop to pick them up." Some silver medals were afterwards thrown among the people in Palace Yard. The custom is not quite in keeping with modern notions, and a scramble in church just before Holy Communion is particularly inappropriate. Yet the abrogation of a picturesque usage handed down from simple-minded antiquity is to be deprecated if irreverence can be avoided. A throwing about of gold and silver *outside* the church would nowadays be impossible. King Charles I. "would faine haue had a 100 *li* in siluer to cast awaye amonge y^e^ people as he returned, w^ch^ vpon y^e^ suddaine, to his greef could not be gotten for hime" (Laud).

At the early Byzantine coronations a largess, originally a bribe, to the soldiery of five gold pieces and a pound of silver each was usual.[1]

[1] See "Byzantine Imperial Coronations," by the Rev. F. E. Brightman, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1901.

Medals, as distinct from coins, were first struck by Henry VIII. on his taking the title (repudiated by Elizabeth, and exchanged thenceforth for "Supreme Governour") of "Head of the Church under Christ." With peculiar impiety the superscription was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin. Edward VI.'s was the first Coronation medal; it was struck at the Archbishop's mint, and is very rare. Mary's donative consisted of gold coins. Elizabeth, too, had no special medal. James I. thriftily distributed a pretty little silver medal, on which he is called "Cæsar Augustus, Heir of the Cæsars, by God's gift." Charles I.'s English medal (by Briot) had on the reverse a gauntleted arm and a sword issuing from a cloud, with the legend *Donec pax reddita terris*, because of the war with Spain. The one distributed at Holyrood in 1633 (by the Bishop of Moray as Lord Elymosinar) shows the King wearing the Orders of the Thistle (this taking precedence) and of the Garter, and on the reverse a thistle with the words *Hinc nostræ crevere rosæ*. Some of these medals were made of Scottish gold, which must be distinguished from the "pound Scots." They are the first British coins with a legend on the edge. Charles II.'s scarce Scone medal, of inferior workmanship, shows a lion rampant bearing a three-headed thistle, with the legend *Nemo me impune lacessit.* Of the

Restoration medals, which are very fine, one shows an angel crowning the King, and the words *Everso missus succurrere seclo;* the other a flock of sheep round the King as shepherd, and the words (curiously applied) *Dixi custodiam.* James II.'s rare medal is inscribed *Tutamen ab alto.* Those distributed for the King were 127 in gold (costing about fifty shillings each), and 800 in silver (costing three shillings each); for the Queen 77 in gold and 400 in silver.

William and Mary had a large number struck of twelve different designs. One showed Andromeda being rescued from the sea-monster; another Phaethon struck by Jove's bolt; a third—this seems to savour of 1789 rather than 1689—England holding a cap of liberty at the end of a pike, and the legend *Aurea florigeris succrescunt poma rosetis*, wittily suggesting the union of Orange with the roses of England. A fourth is inscribed *Cælo dilabitur alto.* The fifth, which styles William and Mary "Defenders of the Faith, Pious, August," shows on the reverse a heap of Popish ecclesiastical ornaments, a yoke of slavery and some serpents, consumed by heavenly fire, with the words *This is their Last Day.* Another shows an eagle ejecting small intruders from her nest, and is inscribed *Non patitur supposititios*—a discreditable allusion to the warming-pan fable. Yet another shows an old oak uprooted, and an

orange-tree flourishing in its place, with the words *Meliorem lapsa locavit.* Another exhibits the Belgic lion, with one paw on the Bible, and the other crushing a serpent. Another shows a figure of Great Britain "by the naval Expedition of the Dutch freed, restored, and made secure." Another describes William and Mary as *Huic terræ lætitia.* The twelfth, intended especially for the Coronation—some of the others were for "consumption abroad," and can hardly have conciliated opponents in England, where parties were so evenly divided that the Act of Settlement and the Abjuration Act only passed the Commons by a majority of one—showed William and Mary enthroned, with two prelates supporting a crown over their heads. Macaulay says:—

"The Jacobites contrived to discover or to invent abundant matter for scurrility and sarcasm. They complained bitterly that the way from the Hall to the western door of the Abbey had been lined by Dutch soldiers . . . But there was no more fertile theme for censure than the Coronation medal, which really was absurd in design and in execution. A chariot appeared conspicuous on the reverse, and plain people were at a loss to know what this emblem had to do with William and Mary. The disaffected wits solved the difficulty by suggesting that the artist meant to allude to that chariot which a Roman princess, lost to all filial affection, and blindly devoted to the interests of an ambitious husband, drove over the still warm remains of her father" (*History*, i. p. 714).

One of Anne's two medals bears the phrase

(glancing obliquely at her late brother-in-law) of her first speech to Parliament—"Entirely English"—and on the rim *Atavis regibus*. For George I.'s Coronation a white metal medallion, 5 inches across, was engraved in Hanover; and another, struck abroad, shows the godless old man attended by a figure of Piety. George II. was engraved, with a touch of reviving Gothic feeling, seated in St. Edward's chair. His Queen is attended on her medal by Britannia, with the words *Hic amor, hæc patria*. Poor Caroline found little happiness away from Anspach. George III. and Queen Charlotte had separate medals, but some have the King's bust on the one side and the Queen's on the other. The medal of George IV., by Pistrucci, is inscribed *Proprio jam jure, animo paterno*, in allusion to the Regency. These gold medals, one of which, in a morocco case, was given to each peer, cost £430 the hundred; the silver ones, £21, 13s. 4d. At William IV.'s accession economy and prose were the order of the day. The King and Queen had only one medal between them (by Wyon), and were represented without any fanciful accompaniments, while the only legend, in bald English, was *William the Fourth, crowned Sept.* 8, 1831, and similar words for Queen Adelaide. Queen Victoria's medal was by Pistrucci. The artist was now almost blind, and his work gave great dissatisfaction.

There was a slight return to idealism, however, in the placing on the Queen's head of a consecration veil, such as the empresses of old wore. The legend was, *Victoria, D.G. Britanniarum Regina, F.D.* On the reverse were three figures, representing England, Scotland, and Ireland, presenting an imperial crown. The legend was *Erimus tibi nobile regnum.* Bronze, as well as gold and silver, medals were struck in 1902, for distribution. For a fuller account of coronation medals, the reader may consult Jones's *Crowns and Coronations.*

King Edward VII. presented the nation with a splendid gift on his Coronation morning, viz., Osborne House.

86 *The Release.*—Until George II. there was a rubrick stating that during the Homage "the L^{d} Chancell^{r} or Lord Keeper attended by Garter King of Arms, etc. proclaims the King's general Pardon, reading it distinctly and audibly at the 4 sides of the Theater." Pardons (*i.e.* remissions of penance) were often proclaimed at episcopal inthronizations, *e.g.* that of St. Hugh of Lincoln.

In 1626 "The King took a Scrowle of parchment out of his bosom and gave it to the Lord Keeper, who read it to the Commons 4 several times, East, West, North, and South. The effect whereof was that his Majesty did offer a Pardon to all his subjects who would take it under his

broad Seale" (Fuller). It was followed, says D'Ewes, with an "exceeding acclamation." James II.'s Pardon was deferred till the meeting of Parliament, before which, however, Monmouth's rising took place.

Bacon refers to a tale that when Elizabeth's Pardon was declared a courtier asked that four or five more prisoners might be released. Who are they? The four Evangelists and the Apostle Paul. "These men, most dread Sovereign, have been as it were so closely shut up in the prison of an unknown tongue that until released they cannot converse with the Lord's people." Elizabeth is alleged to have answered, "It is first best to inquire of them whether they themselves approve of being released."

The *Anthem* (restored in 1902 but now displaced), "Kings shall see and arise," containing the words: "That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth!" was a reminiscence of the earlier Pardon.

87 *When the Homage is ended, the Drums, etc.*— In 1626 and 1661, and probably at later Coronations, the drums beat and the trumpets sounded between the homage of each Degree of the Nobility. In the Anglo-Saxon rite, "Live the King, live the King, live the King, live the King, for ever!" was sung as an anthem.

CAP. XVII

The Queen's Coronation

88 The Service is substantially the same as the one used a thousand years ago. *Vide infra*, Excursus A. But in the Anglo-Saxon rite there was no delivery of sceptre and rod.

89 *The Archbishop.*—In 1902 "*of York.*" No precedent existed for this innovation except the Coronation of Matilda of Flanders in 1068 by Aldred of York, who had also crowned the Conqueror, Stigand being under a cloud. The idea, popularised by Stanley, that the sacring of the Consort is the right of the Northern Primate is refuted at length in Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg's pamphlet on this subject (St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society). The words of *Liber Regalis* are explicit. The Anglo-Saxon Orders, however, permitted a priest to anoint the Consort.

90 *The first Collect* is shortened from the prayer used till the eighteenth century, which spoke of Almighty God not rejecting the frailty of the Woman, but having sometime "caused Thy people to triumph over a most cruel Enemy by the hand of Judith a woman." The fruitfulness of Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, Rachel, and other blessed and honourable women, was desired for the Queen, "to the honour of this Kingdom and the

good government of God's Holy Church." This for Queen Charlotte, 1761, became "Grant her a numerous Royal Issue ['Continue her Royal Issue,' 1727] for a lasting Blessing to these Kingdoms in all succeeding ages and generations." The ancient prayer ended: "Through Christ our Lord; who vouchsafed to be born of a most pure Virgin, that He might visit and redeem the World; Who liveth," etc. When a Queen Consort was to be consecrated alone, the foregoing prayer was said at the entrance of the church. Then, at the Altar before the Anointing, followed till Queen Caroline, 1727, a prayer beginning *God which only hast immortality*, which alluded to Esther and Ahasuerus of old, and prayed that the Consort, "continuing alwaies in the chastity of Princely Wedlock, may obtain the Crown that is next unto Virginity." These two orisons are not found in the Anglo-Saxon Orders.

91 *The Place of Her Anointing.*—Not specified till the eighteenth century. Queen Adelaide seems to have been crowned and anointed in "Queen Mary's" Chair (made in 1689).

92 *Shall kneel* on "carpetts and quisshons," laid (the old Orders say) "by thusshers of the quene's chambre, wher yppon the Queen shall lie prostrat as the King dud afor."

93 *Holding a rich Pall . . . over Her.*—If the

disapparelling and anointing on the Breast is to be discontinued, the Pall ceases to be required for concealment of the Queen's person, only for reverence towards the "sacrament of Unction" (as St. Gregory calls it). No mention is made of the Consort's Pall in the Order for 1603 and the Draft Order for 1626.

94 All Consorts before Queen Adelaide, unless crowned alone, were anointed in two places, the Head and the Breast. This was a solemnity, Maskell says, peculiar to the Queens of England and France. The Empress of Russia, *e.g.* is anointed only on the forehead. Anne of Denmark received the unction on the head, hands, and breast.

The Peeresses who will hold the Pall in 1911 are the Duchesses of Richmond, Montrose, Portland, and Sutherland.

The older rubrick directed the Chief Lady Assistant to open the Queen's apparel for the latter anointing, and afterwards to dry the place anointed, closing her Majesty's Robe, and then to put a linen Quoif upon her Head, "because of the anointing." The *Mirror* (Sept. 10, 1831) inaccurately says that this was done in Queen Adelaide's case. A somewhat too liberal affusion of the Sacramental Oil took place in 1902.

The same formula was used formerly for both anointings. Before the Stuart era Oil was used for the former anointing and Chrism for the latter.

If the Queen was crowned alone, she was to receive the Chrism only on the head. The anointing on the head is always in the form of a cross. This was specified in the Stuart Orders, except in 1603.

95 A prayer has been omitted here. In 1831 it ran thus :—

"O most merciful God, pour out abundantly Thy Grace and Blessing upon this Thy servant, Queen *Adelaide;* that as by our Office and Ministry she is this day anointed and solemnly consecrated our Queen, so, being sanctified by Thy Holy Spirit, she may continue Thy faithful and devout servant unto her life's end, through," etc.

But the Unction ought to be followed by prayer. *By our Office and Ministry*, till 1727, was *By the Imposition of our Hands.* The phrase, which occurs in Anglo-Saxon times, was a remarkable survival. Dr. Wickham Legg [1] observes :—

"In the first account that we have of the benediction of a King in these islands, it is said that St. Columba laid his hand upon the head of King Aidan, consecrating him and blessing him. Also, during the quarrel between Henry II. and St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York crowned the King's son at Westminster, thereby, it was said, doing a wrong to the Church of Canterbury, because the Archbishop of York had laid his hands upon the King's son within the province of Canterbury. There is also positive evidence that abroad a laying on of hands was—at one coronation, at least—a part of the ceremony. It appears that when William, Count of Holland, was crowned King of the Romans on November 1, 1248, immediately after

[1] *Three Coronation Orders*, p. xli.

the anointing by the Archbishop of Mentz, the Archbishop of Triers laid his hands upon the King, saying, 'May the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of knowledge and true godliness, the spirit of counsel and strength, come upon thee, and mayest thou be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord.' The form is allied to that of confirmation rather than to the *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* of orders."

96 *Receive this Ring.*—The stone is a ruby circled with diamonds, and these surrounded by smaller rubies. After "Faith" followed, till the eighteenth century, *That you may avoid all infection of Heresie, and by the power of God compell* (*premere*) *barbarous nations, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth.*

James II.'s Queen, Mary Beatrix, wore her Coronation ring till her death, though it had brought her little happiness.

97 *Reverently set it upon the Queen's Head.*—The Byzantine Emperors crowned the Consort themselves, the Patriarch reciting a prayer. Catherine I. of Russia was invested by the Tsar, Peter the Great, with the Robe, the Crown and the Orb, which were delivered to him by the Archbishop, who, however, anointed the Empress. But the account of the joint Coronation of Alexander II. and the Tsaritsa says that, after the Tsar had been crowned, the Empress kneeling before him, he raised the diadem from his brows and laid it for a moment on hers. Another and

smaller crown was then placed on her head by her gentlewomen, who at the same time covered her with an imperial mantle like her husband's.

Ahasuerus, we read in Esther ii. 17, "loved Esther above all the women . . . so that he set the royal crown upon her head, and made her Queen."

98 The circlet made for Mary of Modena, though weighing only 18½ ounces, was valued at £111,900, "and the jewels she had on her," writes Lord Fountainhall, who, however, clearly exaggerates, "were reckoned at a million, which made her shine like an angel." Some of them were borrowed from Messrs. Child the bankers. In the days of her sorrowful exile and widowhood Mary declared that she had never taken any pleasure in the envied name of a Queen. "Yet she sometimes spoke of the glories of her Coronation, and descanted with true feminine delight on the magnificence of the regalia prepared for her" (Strickland). She told the nuns of Chaillot that "no Coronation of any preceding King of England had been so well conducted." Her own devout demeanour at it was noticed. James II. "was the last of our monarchs," says Pegge, "to keep up the regal state in its full splendour."

Lord Hervey, however, in his *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, says that that Prince

was crowned "with all the pomp and magnificence that could be contrived, the present King differing so much from the last that all the pageantry and splendour of royalty were as pleasing to the son as they were irksome to the father." Queen Caroline wore an immense quantity of gems borrowed from Court ladies and Jews and jewellers—her "finery a mixture of magnificence and meanness";—for George I. had distributed his predecessor's jewels among his German favourites, and only one pearl necklace was left for his daughter-in-law.

One who had the best opportunity of seeing what occurred when Archbishop Howley crowned Queen Adelaide says that he "had some difficulty in getting the crown on the Queen's head. There was a large cushion of hair on the top of her head, and the agony of the Bishop of Chichester was great at seeing how very tottering it was, and yet nobody dared touch it. After the prayer was said Lady Brownlow assisted in securing it." The same lady says: "Nothing could be more perfect than the Queen's manner during the whole ceremony, but particularly during the administration of the Sacrament, when she went up to the altar to give her donation."

The "cushion of hair" was a departure from older precedents. The Devise for Henrietta Maria's intended Coronation speaks of "A golden

Circle beset with Iewells vpon her Head; Her Hayre in comly sort flowing vpon Her Shoulders"; her gown was to be "without any Imbroidery or Artificiall work vpon it." This is the direction of the medieval Orders also, and the Queens of Sicily and of France were so crowned. Katharine of Arragon was borne the day before to Westminster in a litter by two white palfreys "apparelled in white satyn embroudered, her heeire hanging doune to her back of a great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her head a coronate set with many rich orient stones." There is a similar description of Anne of Denmark.

99 *The Sceptre and the Ivory Rod.*—Mary of Modena's Sceptre, of gold and diamonds, is now in the Tower of London. She did not use the Queen's Sceptre with Dove, but only the small ivory sceptre with a Dove with closed wings, which had been made for her. This was lost for generations, but discovered in 1814 at the back of a shelf in the Jewel House.

100 *Ornaments.*—The word is used in the ecclesiastical sense, as in the Prayer-Book rubrick concerning "Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof."

101 *Boweth Herself reverently* ("majestatem ejus ut decet adorando," *Lib. Reg.*).—So in the Devise for Henry VII.: "The Quene thus corowned

shalbe led of the abouesaid Bisshoppes of Excetour and Ely unto her seage of astate nere to the Kinges seage roiall, obeying herself afore the Kinges maieste in her commyng ther vnto, the noble ladies [the 'nobler matrons of the Realm,' 'Westminster Missal'] folowing her, esspeceally the greate lady beyng nigh vnto her for her instruccion and comfort." "The great Lady" is mentioned in James II.'s Order as "Countess of Peterborow, Grome of the Stole to Her Majesty." But the phrase properly denotes not the Mistress of the Robes but the peeress highest in rank. King Edward VII. stood to receive Queen Alexandra's obeisance, with one sceptre in his hand.[1]

102 When Anne of Denmark had been crowned in the Abbey-kirk of Holyrood, May 17, 1590, "silence being made, Mr. Andrew Melvin, Principal of the College of Theologians, made ane oration in twa hunder Latin verses," which, the chronicler observes, was an unreasonable number. Anne no doubt understood Latin, but had no Scots, for her oath to "withstand and despise all papistical superstitions and ceremonies and rites, and to procure peace to the Kirk of God," had to be expounded to her in her own tongue. After the Countess of Mar had opened the craig of the Queen's gown, "Maister Robert Bruce poured on her breast and arm a bonny quantity of oil, and

[1] See Note in Bodley's *The Coronation of Edw. VII.*, p. 448.

then covered them with white silk." The crown was delivered to her from King James VI. by three nobles, and the Sceptre by "Maister Robert," her Coronation being thus shown to be "entirely an act of grace of her royal lord." The unction gave offence as a relic of the older religion.[1]

The only Queen Regnant who has had a Consort at the time of her Coronation was Anne. He was, however, excluded from all part in her Coronation dignities, and his name was afterwards never associated with hers, as Philip's was with Mary Tudor's.

The Queens of France were crowned, not at Rheims, but at St. Denys.

Previous Orders, after "taketh her place in her Throne," added, "reposing Herself till She comes down with the King, to receive the Holy Communion."

CAP. XVIII

103 *Offertory.*—The word is used in its proper meaning. But in the sense of money collected it has found its way even into a recent Statute.

104 *O hearken thou. Let my prayer come up*

[1] An entirely Presbyterian Coronation was that of Charles II. at Scone, January 1, 1651, when there was a sermon and benediction but no anointing. Yet the forms observed were based to some extent on ancient usage. Charles I. had been crowned at Holyrood in 1633 by the restored episcopate with most of the time-honoured ceremonies. James VIII. (the Old Chevalier) made preparations for a Scone Coronation in 1715, but his affairs took an unfavourable turn.

in thy presence as incense used to be sung—recalling the use of incense here. But in 1911 Offertorium and Introit change places, and two Sentences are omitted.

105 *Taking off their Crowns.*[1]—This direction appeared for the first time in 1838, as well as the direction that the Queen should crown herself again after her Communion. It will be remembered that George III. felt a reverent doubt whether or not to remove the Crown which he had just received from the Almighty, and, when Archbishop Secker hesitated, he spontaneously laid it on one side. His young Bride found that hers was fastened so securely to her head that it could not be removed. The King, however, quieted her discomposure by saying that it might be considered part of her regal attire, and not regarded as a mark of greatness inappropriate to one kneeling humbly in God's presence. It had undoubtedly, however, been usual to remove the Crown, though not till after the King's Offering. In 1661, "After the offertory . . . the king kneel'd before his ffaldstool and layd his crown vpon the cvshion at his right hand," resuming it after reception. The Sceptre with Dove he placed on his left hand, and gave the Sceptre with Cross to Mr. Howard,

[1] In a painting by Gentile da Fabriano in the Belle Arti at Florence the Magi before adoration have put off their crowns and their spurs are being removed. So also in a picture by Filippino Lippi in the Uffizi a servant is removing the crown from one of the king's heads.

who knelt at his right, the four Swords being held about him. Charles II. had previously taken the Crown off "at the beginning of the Communion" (which then began after the Coronation), but put it on again to go to "the High Altar" to offer there. Mr. Maskell thinks that Henry VI. and Henry VIII. received covered. King and Queen are bareheaded in the French miniatures of Charles V.; Louis XVI. certainly uncovered. In 1831 Queen Adelaide "was very anxious to have her Crown taken off in time," so one of her ladies recalls.

106 *The King shall offer Bread and Wine.*—This is an interesting relic of primitive practice, which is now retained, the late Rev. J. Fuller Russell says, in the church of Milan alone. It is, or was till recently, the custom in the chapel of Brasenose College, Oxford, for one of the Fellows to bring in bread and wine from the ante-chapel at the offertory. There is an underlying principle in the rubrick which directs that the Bread and Wine shall be provided by the people of the parish (*cf.* St. Mark viii. 5, 6). Edward VI. offered "a pound of gold, a loaf of bread, and a chalice of wine."

Maskell (ii. p. xvii, *n.*) observes: "It was an ancient custom, now omitted in the Roman pontifical, that the Emperor after his consecration should attend upon the pontiff, as sub-deacon,

during the celebration of the mass, offering him a chalice and paten with hosts, and afterwards water for mingling with the wine." "There is reason also to believe that the gospel was read by the emperor, if he pleased, on Christmas-eve; or if he was present when the pope pontificated (see Ducange, verb. 'Evangelium')." To read the Epistle is the clerk's duty, and in one of the old Roman Orders the Emperor is to be "made a clerk," and so vested. "All kings are styled clerks," writes Chasseneux, *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*,[1] and "the emperor, or other independent prince, though not in orders, can exercise the office of the subdiaconate in serving a bishop." This does not amount to the "ministering of the Sacraments," which Article XXXVII. says "we give not to our princes." Yet Gallican and English writers from very early times used extremely high language about the spiritual prerogatives of the consecrated Christian King, "vicarius Summi Regis."[2] While the Sovereign was said to offer Bread and Wine "sub-deacon-wise," the *Liber Regalis* also describes the action as being done in imitation of the Priest-King Melchisedek. Doubtless, however, it was originally but a survival of the intending communicant's offering of the materials for the Eucharist.

[1] See Dr. Wickham Legg's *The Coronation of the Queen*, S.P.C.K., 1898, p. 40.

[2] See Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, App. A.

There is a similar offering, inside the iconostasis, by the Tsar of Russia. Louis XVI. presented a splendid chalice and paten, a loaf of gold and a loaf of silver, and a rich purse containing thirteen gold coronation medals, originally bezants. Napoleon also presented, with a chalice, the *pain d'or* and *pain d'argent*.

107 *Reverently placed upon the Altar and decently covered with a fair linen Cloth.*—These words date from the end of the seventeenth century. The bringing in and oblation of the Bread and Wine was in the primitive Church so important and ceremonious a part of the liturgy that the rubrick in our present Prayer-Book must seem somewhat bare and lacking. Nor was there, even in the 1549 Book, any prayer accompanying the "secretion," or setting apart, of the fruits of the ground, such as is here retained.

108 *Bless . . . these Thy Gifts* is the pre-Reformation "secret" used at this place. The exact phrase was, "Sanctify these gifts here offered, that they may become to us the Body and Blood," etc. This, of course, is not a consecration of the Elements.

109 *The Oblation.*—This was, until 1902, "a Mark weight of gold"—*i.e.* 8 ounces troy. For Victoria "mark weight" became "a purse." "More the King might offer to God and St. Peter, but less he could not"—the Consort also making the

same offering. There is some doubt whether George IV. made this oblation.

With this, which used to be called the Second Oblation, has been merged the First Oblation (vide *supra*, p. 80), making what Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg calls a monstrous hybrid.

From 1689 to 1838, in connexion both with the First and the Second Oblation, there was said the prayer, *O God who dwellest in the high and holy place with them also who are of a humble spirit*, an amplification of the ancient prayer *Deus humilium*. Before 1685 there were two elaborate Benedictions here. It might be well to restore the "Almighty God give thee of the dew of heaven," etc.

110 *Return to their Chairs.*—Strype speaks as though Edward VI. was on his throne throughout: "In the midst of the stage was a goodly thing made of seven steps of height all round, where the king's majesty's chair royal stood; and he sat therein, after he was crowned, all the mass-while." Elsewhere, however,[1] he says the King was borne in a chair to "a place by the high altar where the kings use always to kneel at the elevation of the parliament mass." The Council order says the same: "Then shall the king be led to his travers to hear the high mass." So also in Elizabeth's case: "Her Grace kneelyng before the aulter and

[1] *Cranmer*, ii. 5.

kissed the patyn and offeryd certain money into the bassyn. . . . And then her Grace retorned into her closett hearing the consecration of the masse, and her Grace kissed the pax." (But see next note.)

111 In 1626 the King was either to go to "St. Edward's Chaire" and there sit "while the Arch-Bishop proceedeth to y^e^ Consecration of y^e^ Sacrament," or to "kneel still at y^e^ steps of the Altar." Charles I., Laud notes, did the latter. But between the Offering of Bread and Wine and the Second Oblation he had, after "obeisance towards the Altar," "returned back to his Chaire and a while reposed." Had Henrietta Maria been crowned with him, it was prescribed that she should be "led into St. Edward's Chappell, there to repose her self in her Traverse, while y^e^ King receiveth the Communion." Anne of Denmark also had declined to communicate, saying that she had changed her religion once from Lutheranism to Calvinism (when in Scotland), and would not make a second change. There is some reason to think, however, that she died in the Roman communion. Recent research has shown that it is probable that Elizabeth also withdrew into her traverse instead of communicating, in consequence of Oglethorpe's refusal—as before at Christmas in the Chapel Royal—not to elevate the Host. She told the French ambassador in 1571, "qu'elle

avoit este couronné et sacrée sellon les cérémonies catholiques, sans toutefois assister à la messe."[1]

112 *Church Militant Prayer.*—The words *Accept our Alms and Oblations* were omitted in 1838. The 1902 Order has, *Accept these Oblations.*

113 The Long Exhortation, *Dearly beloved in the Lord*, has always been omitted.

114 The *Proper Preface*, for some inexplicable reason, was omitted in 1902. It reappears in an impoverished form. Until George IV. it contained the words "Who makest Kings to be the Nursing Fathers of thy Church, and Queens her Nursing Mothers." Modern ideas have banished this Scriptural expression from the Accession Service, as revised in 1901. In 1831 the following words were inserted, "And together with him hast raised up our gracious Queen *Adelaide* to be a great Example and Encourager of true Religion and Piety among us." "Protector of thy Church" became from 1761 to 1838 "Protector of thy People," but this phrase also, as well as "Defender of thy Faith," is now lost.

115 *The Communion: When the Archbishop, etc.*—None communicate at this Service except the Sacred Ministers and the King and Queen. Leslie's picture of Queen Victoria receiving Holy Communion, with all her retinue and Maids of

[1] See a note by Professor Pollard in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, January 1910, p. 125.

Honour looking about in every direction, is sadly wanting in solemn feeling and artistic unity. Georgiana Lady Bloomfield records in her *Reminiscences* (i. 15): "I saw the ray of sunlight shine upon our gracious Sovereign as she knelt." William IV. and Queen Adelaide were houselled at their faldstools.

The Roman pontifical bids the King kiss the Metropolitan's right hand before communicating.

116 The Houseling Pall has not been prescribed since George IV., an innovation upon immemorial usage which is to be greatly regretted. The following words were in the rubrick till 1831, a date when ancient ecclesiastical customs were regarded with ignorant dislike: *The Bishops Assistants holding a Towel of white silk or fine linen before the King while he receives;* and the same before the Queen Consort. For George IV. only one prelate was mentioned, holding "a carpet of gold and silver brocade." The houseling cloth, for reverence in reception of the Eucharist, is not mentioned in the medieval rubrick, or till 1626, but it was certainly used. *E.g.* for Henry IV. "the cardynall and the other bishoppes helde the towell." When Henry VIII. and Catherine were crowned "two of the grettest estates then present held before the kyng and queene a longe towell of silke" (Maskell). It is still retained in a few churches (as St. Mary's, Oxford, Wimborne

Minster, Holyrood Chapel at Southampton, Fyfield and Ilton), and in the seventeenth century was common.[1] Laud mentions that the one used for Charles I. was "y^e faire Ordinarye Towell w^ch he vses att White Hall." At Presbyterian communions the pews are draped with cloths.

117 The *Cup* anciently used was called "the Stone Chalice of St. Edward," "the which chales by seynte Edwardis dayes was preyesed xxxM[1] marc." This was among the Regalia delivered by Andrewes to Neile, being then slightly damaged; and the Cup used in 1626 is called by Sancroft "St. Edward's stone chalice," but in the official Order "the chalice of Saphire and gold."[2] France has preserved through several Revolutions the "Chalice of St. Rémi."

When George II. was crowned, the Dean and Chapter brought the Bible and the Regalia to Westminster Hall, but forgot the Chalice and Paten. The forgetfulness is perhaps typical of a time when, in many churches, the Eucharist was celebrated but thrice in a twelvemonth. The altar at a Coronation is always covered with magnificent pieces of plate. In 1626 these included "the old Crucifixe amonge the Regalia."

[1] In the Churchwarden's Accompts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, 12s. 8d. was paid in 1599 for "diaper cloth to make ij towels for the communicants."

[2] Clearly the "large glass cupp wrought in figures," destroyed by Parliament. It is the "lapis" of the Exchequer Red Book, the glass or "aggatt" of later times.

Parliament issued an order in 1642 for the destruction of all crucifixes and crosses.

118 *In both Kinds.*—This change on the old order first appears in the 1603 Service—"The Archbp. ministreth the body, the Abbot the Cup." There is indeed some evidence that reception in both Kinds was always a privilege of the Sovereign both in France and in England and of the Emperors,—of the latter, Catalani says, at their inauguration and on their death-bed. It is not clear, however, that the Kings of France availed themselves of the privilege, or the Kings of England after the twelfth century. Grafton records of Richard III.: "The kyng and the quene discended and before the high altare they were both houseled with one hoste, devyded between them." Richard II. "offered to the Archbishop Bread and Wine, from which afterwards both the Metropolitan and the King himself were communicated" (Walsingham). But the King probably received only an unconsecrated Cup, like (the late Earl Beauchamp remarked in his edition of *Liber Regalis*) the newly-ordained. Henry VIII.'s Devise says: "The king and the quene shall sumwhat aryse knelyng, and with grete humylitee and deuocion receyue the sacrament by the hands of the cardynall. This so done the kinge and the quene shall stand vp and take wine of the aboue

reherced chalice, by the hands of the abbot of Westminster." And earlier in the Service, "The kyng shall offre an obbley of brede layd vppon the patent of seint Edwardes chalice, with the whiche obleye after consecrate the king shall be howseld. Also he shall offre in a cruet of golde wyne, whiche he shall use in the chalice after he is howselde." So Henry VI. received "the thyrde parte of the holy sacrament vpon the patent of the archebisshoppes handes. Then came the bisshoppe of London with the grete solempne chales of seynt Edward and serued hym with wyne."[1] So also the *Liber Regalis*, which adds, "And to the Queen too after the King shall the aforesaid abbot minister from the same chalice, in token, namely, of unity. For as in Christ they are one flesh by bond of wedlock, so also it behoves they should partake from one cup." Yet the Sarum pontifical says: "The kiss of peace having been received from the king and queen, the king and queen, descending from their thrones and drawing near humbly to the altar, shall receive the Body and Blood of the Lord from the hand of the archbishop." Dr. Wickham Legg thinks some confusion has arisen.

The Emperor of Russia, by virtue of his consecration, communicates with Bishops, priests, and deacons.

[1] Maskell, vol. ii. p. lxii.

The Order of the Communion of 1547 provides a form of Communion in both kinds; but James I. was the first King thus to receive at a Coronation.

Until comparatively recent times the King received fasting. Richard II.'s Devise says: "And also it is to wite that a certein place nere the shryne must be prepared with trauers and curteyns by the usshers of the king's chambre. Wherunto immediately the king shall goo, and there breke his faste, yf hym lyste."

119 *The Post-Communion.*—This expression is not used here in its proper sense of a sentence from Holy Scripture sung after the people's Communion; retained in the Prayer-Book of 1549.

Charles I., Fuller relates, "received last of all whilst *Gloria in Excelsis* was sung." "After the *Agnus*," Gervase writes concerning Stephen.

120 After *Gloria in Excelsis* (which was to be "said," not "sung," in 1821, 1831, and 1838) the Order for Queen Victoria directed the singing of the "Hallelujah Chorus." The 1902 Order omits several concluding Collects, including one for the Royal House, composed probably by Compton in 1685. These prayers were inserted at that Coronation, and helped to disguise the absence of the Christian Mysteries. At Anne's Coronation the Dowager of England, Catherine of Braganza, then

governing her own country as Regent, was prayed for, but not the Queen's Consort, Prince *Est-il-possible?*

"Most delectable and excellent musick song by priests and clarkes" has always relieved and elevated the great solemnity. "Many antemes songe with note" are mentioned at Henry VI.'s Coronation; "diverse songes solemply song" at Richard III.'s. Handel, Purcell, Blow, and other great writers, have composed some famous anthems for these occasions. In modern times they have been chosen less, says the Rev. H. A. Wilson, by ecclesiastical traditions than according as certain compositions or composers were popular and well known. But in 1902 the idea was that the music should be representative of the best English church composers from Tallis (the Litany), through Gibbons (Threefold Amen), Purcell (Offertorium), Handel ("Zadok the Priest"), Wesley (Credo), to modern times. Recent compositions were those of Stainer, Parry, Parratt, Stanford, and Bridge. There is an article in the *Anglo-Saxon Review* of September 1901 on Coronation Music. Henry V. would have no instruments but harps. The 1902 Order only speaks of the organ, and not of "other instruments." The *Te Deum* has been moved to this place from just before the Inthronization. This was also done, to save time, in August 1902.

CAP. XX

The Recess

121 In 1838 there was some confusion. Greville records of Queen Victoria: "They made her leave her chair and enter into St. Edward's Chapel before the prayers were concluded, much to the discomfiture of the Archbishop." Archbishop Howley, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Willoughby, and Lord John Thynne, who acted for Dean Ireland, were the only people who had properly rehearsed their functions, and a *cærimoniarius* was much needed. "Pray tell me what I am to do," the Queen said to Lord John, "for they do not know." She had visited the church the night before to make sure of her part. Our present King and Queen, on March 1st of this year, carefully inspected the arrangements submitted for the Coronation of 1911 upon the spot. The church was closed to the public from that date.

122 *Area* is here used for the Presbytery or Sanctuary, often called the Sacrarium. The Confessor's Chapel is behind the Altar screen, to the east of it, but west of the Lady Chapel. St. Edward's shrine was formerly surmounted by splendid tabernacle-work, and the lower part was rich with gilding and colours. Six kings and

five queens lie round him. At the Coronations of 1761, 1821, 1831, and 1838 the Monarch had to enter a dark boxed-up chapel by a hole under the feet of the faithful Commons in the gallery above.

123 Until William IV., St. Edward's Crown was exchanged for the Imperial Crown, to be worn during the Banquet. The recent rubricks are, on the other hand, more explicit about the exchanging the Sceptre with Dove (carried in the left hand) for the Orb, and about the Gold Spurs and St. Edward's Staff being delivered to the Dean to be laid on the Altar of the Chapel. A permanent altar was built in 1902. In Queen Victoria's own account of her Coronation in the *Letters* we read: "I then repaired . . . to St. Edward's Chapel, as it is called, but which, as Lord Melbourne said, was more unlike a chapel than anything he had ever seen. For what was *called* an *altar* was covered with sandwiches, bottles of wine," etc. etc. There had been a large breakfast in the Jerusalem Chamber before the solemnity.

In the earlier Orders there is a direction for the King and Queen to withdraw into traverses prepared for them upon the western wall of the Chapel, in order to be dismantled and robed again by the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Chief Lady Assistant respectively. The Robes

of St. Edward, when taken off, are to be laid upon the Confessor's altar.

In the medieval rite there was a long pause while the Archbishop unvested, and during this the King and Queen were to "talke with their Lordes temporall."

"For a moment, before retiring, the King, arrayed in all the immemorial insignia of majesty, stood almost alone, the centre of a little group of ecclesiastics, in antique vestments, and of pages who might have attended his ancestress, Eleanor of Provence, with no other surrounding than the noble serenity of the ancient fabric. Then he looked back to where his mighty forerunners lay amid the grey tracery of Henry VIII.'s chapel. As there was no sign of festal ornament, no modern crowd, the Gothic architecture became the setting for a scene, such as little children see in their dreams, of a bygone age when kings went about in crowns and stately robes amid their subjects, likewise in picturesque attire, bestowing on them favours with the hand which had to lay aside the sceptre to bestow them. Such was the final act of King Edward. Seated against the crumbling stone of the screen, the Archbishop, wrapped in his medieval cope, rested his feeble limbs, overtasked with ceremonial labours. To him came the crowned and mantled King, stretching forth his hands when he had laid the sceptre

down, cheering the tired old man with gracious gesture and kindly word, just as a father of his people might have done in an ancient realm of the days when all the world was beautiful" (Bodley, *Coronation of Edward the Seventh*).

124 Recent Orders before 1902 directed the Archbishop and Bishops at the end of the ceremonial in St. Edward's Chapel to "divest themselves of their Copes, proceeding in their usual Habits," *i.e.* scarlet chimeres, lawn rochets and caps. At Holyrood, in 1633, the Bishops wore "white rochets and white sleeves and loops of gold, having blue silk to their foot." Rochets had not been seen in Scotland since the Reformation, and this habit, with the "four nooked taffil in manner of an altar," with its lighted tapers and dossal of rich tapestry, "wherein the crucifix was most curiously wrought," before which the Bishops made reverence in passing, "bred great fear of inbringing of popery, for which they were all deposed."

125 William IV.'s procession came out in pouring rain, and lords and ladies stood about in their robes unable to get their carriages. There was a wooden vestibule, 50 feet deep, painted to resemble stone, with panelling and stained-glass "Gothic" windows—a picture of it may be seen in the *Mirror* of October 29, 1831. But a church is a very unsuitable place for a great

pageant to assemble at and disperse from. Westminster Hall would have been far better.

Georgiana Lady Bloomfield[1] records that at Queen Victoria's Coronation she was present from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. without moving—she was but sixteen. She then descended into the body of the church and received some of the anointing Oil, which was being given away, on her handkerchief.

After Edward I.'s Coronation there were let loose "five hundred great horses of the King of Scots, the Earles of Cornwall, Gloucester, Pembroke, Warren, and others, as they alighted from their backs," and "catch them that catch might."

At the close of Louis XVI.'s magnificent "Sacre" at Rheims a number of white doves were let fly in the church, which, by the recovery of freedom, "signified the pouring forth of the graces of the Sovereign on his people, and that men are only free under an enlightened, just, and benevolent Prince." It was Trinity Sunday, and the festival of St. Barnabas, the son of consolation. Seventeen years later Louis was dragged by two "supporters," amid an awful silence of a multitude vaster than that which witnessed the Coronation, beneath the knife.

[1] *Reminiscences*, i. 15.

EXCURSUS A

CORONATION OF THE QUEEN CONSORT—INVESTITURE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

The Coronation of a Queen Consort has been pronounced to be "as an acknowledgment of the right of succession in her issue," and "as a recognition of her constitutional character, as essential as that of the Monarch himself." Yet it proceeds from the "request" and "demand" of the King. Brougham, in fact, pleading before the Privy Council on behalf of Queen Caroline's right to be crowned, "frankly confessed that he knew of no right which a subject could enjoy without the interposition of the Crown in some manner or other." The Queen, however, has her own Court and her own law officers, and offences against her person are high treason.

The pontifical of Archbishop Egbert does not mention the Coronation of the Consort. Judith of France, Queen of Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, is the first of whose Coronation (in 856) there is certain record. It is said to have been specially sanctioned by the Witan, the Anglo-Saxon Queens having been deprived of all rights of regality in consequence of the crimes of Eadburga, daughter of Offa, who poisoned her lord. For some time they styled themselves simply "The Lady" (Lingard, i. p. 350).

The Coronation of Matilda, Queen of William I., on Whitsunday, 1068, had a high political importance, she being a descendant of Alfred. The first joint

Coronation at Westminster was that of Henry II. and Eleanor of Anjou in 1154. Every Consort was hallowed on the same day as the King between Isabel, Edward II.'s queen, and Anne Neville, queen of Richard III.

The omission to associate his French bride with Prince Henry in his *ante mortem regis* Coronation was so offensive to the King of France that he invaded Henry II.'s dominions.

Henry VII. deferred his alliance with Elizabeth of York till nearly three months after his Coronation, and her Coronation for another ten or eleven months, so that he might not seem to owe his authority to his alliance with her.

Of Henry VIII.'s six Consorts only the first two were crowned.

Anne of Denmark, Queen of James VI. and I., declined, as already mentioned (p. 188), to receive the Eucharist when crowned Queen of England, and Henrietta Maria, who was scarcely seventeen, refused to be crowned at all. A private letter of that date says: "The Queen's Bishop claimed to have the crowning of her, but the Archbishop of Canterbury would not permit it." Catherine of Braganza was never crowned. Anne Hyde, the first wife of James II., died before his accession.

In 1689 took place the unprecedented ceremony of the Coronation of a King and Queen Regnant. Mary's tall figure pacing by the side of the little "asthmatic skeleton," with the Sword of State between them, was an odd spectacle. Mary does not seem to have been vested in the earlier "sacerdotal ornaments," nor was she girded with the Sword, and only one Bible was delivered, but in other respects the ceremonies were alike for both. Dr. J. Wickham Legg has printed this service in full in his *Three Coronation Orders*.

The unhappy circumstances attending the Coronation of 1821 can now, ninety years after, be referred to dispassionately. Never before had a Queen of England

been turned away, a broken-hearted woman, unanointed and uncrowned, from the doors of the Abbey, amid the cheers and jeers of a crowd which a few weeks later, with tumult and indecent riot, followed her funeral hearse. Caroline of Brunswick, greatly wronged, had contrived to place herself in the wrong. The question, too, became a party one, and that on the lowest level. In the *Pindaric Odes* she is a saint and martyr together with Napoleon Buonaparte, and George IV. is a contemptible and cowardly monster together with the Duke of Wellington; the Consecration of the King is a raree-show, and the Homage a ko-tow. As one glances over some of the Coronation literature of 1821, bitter, scurrilous and obscene, we renew our gratitude for the purifying reign which began sixteen years later, and to her who, receiving the white flower of loyalty bruised and soiled, restored its fragrance and beauty, bequeathing it to England once more as a passion and devotion in place of a mere utilitarian calculation of political expediency. Queen Caroline—

"first presented a memorial desiring to know in what way she was to attend the Coronation. To which it was replied that it rested with the King to nominate who should be present, and his Majesty was advised that he could not allow her to be present. The Queen rejoined that she should be present if not absolutely prohibited, and it was further replied that his Majesty's Ministers advised that she could not be received.

"She now prayed the King in Council (July 1) to be heard by her legal advisers against this decision. . . . On Thursday, July 5, the Privy Council met at Whitehall to hear her Majesty's claim argued. For many years so large a Privy Council had not met, there being forty-nine members present besides a considerable number of members not of the Council."

The case was argued by Brougham and Denman on the one side and the Attorney and Solicitor-General on the other, and lasted several days. Ultimately the King was advised to reject the Queen's claim.

On July 11 Mr. Hume moved in the Commons a humble address praying that his Majesty would be

graciously pleased to issue his proclamation for the Coronation of her Majesty, but was stopped by the entrance of Black Rod. On the 17th the Queen issued from Queen's House a spirited Protest and Remonstrance.

"The Queen, like your Majesty, descended from a long race of Kings, was the daughter of a sovereign house connected by the ties of blood with the most illustrious families in Europe, and her not unequal alliance with your Majesty was formed in full confidence that the faith of the King and the people was equally pledged to secure to her all those honours and rights which had been enjoyed by her royal predecessors. In that alliance her Majesty believed that she exchanged the protection of her family for that of a royal husband and that of a free and noble-minded nation. From your Majesty the Queen has experienced only the bitter disappointment of every hope she had indulged. In the attachment of the people she has found that powerful and decided protection which has ever been her steady support and her unfailing consolation."

The Queen could place no confidenee in the Privy Council's judgment,

"when she recollects that the principal individuals by whom it has been pronounced were formerly her successful defenders; that their opinions have wavered with their interest; and that they have since become the most active and powerful of her persecutors."

The following account of the painful incidents which occurred two days later is taken from *Coronation Anecdotes*, by Giles Gossip, Esq., 1823:—

"On the day of the Coronation a considerable crowd assembled about her Majesty's house in South Audley Street soon after four o'clock. As soon as it was ascertained that her Majesty's coach was making ready in the yard, the crowd, both in South Audley Street and in Hill Street, became very great. The wall opposite to her Majesty's house in Hill Street was soon covered with spectators, who announced to the crowd below each successive step of preparation. 'The horses are to;' 'everything is quite ready;' 'the Queen has entered the coach,' were the gradual communications, and they were received with the loudest cheers. Lady Anne Hamilton arrived a few minutes before five, and was most cordially

and respectfully greeted. Soon after five the gate was thrown open, and a shout was raised : 'The Queen ! the Queen !' The Queen immediately appeared in her coach of state, drawn by six bays. Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton sat opposite to her Majesty. Lord Hood followed in his own carriage. Her Majesty looked extraordinarily well, and acknowledged with great dignity and composure the congratulations of the people on each side of her coach. The course taken was through Great Stanhope Street, Park Lane, Hyde Park Corner, the Green Park, St. James's Park, Birdcage Walk, and by Storey's Gate, along Prince's Street, to Dean's Yard —a way, it must be observed, the least likely to attract notice or to gather crowds. The crowd accumulated immensely along this line ; the soldiers everywhere presented arms with the utmost promptitude and respect ; and a thousand voices kept up a constant cry of 'The Queen ! The Queen for ever !' The *coup d'œil* from the road along the Green Park was the most striking which can be imagined : the whole space presented one mass of well-dressed males and females hurrying with every possible rapidity to accompany the Queen, and shouting their attachment and admiration. The two torrents that poured along the south side of the park and the eastern end occasioned the greatest conflux at Storey's Gate. As soon as the Queen's arrival was known in the scene of the King's coronation, shouts of 'The Queen !' at once arose from all the booths, and hats and handkerchiefs were everywhere waved in token of respect. As soon as her Majesty came in sight of the Coronation platform [1] and Westminster Abbey, she stopped for a few moments, apparently uncertain what course to take, as she had hitherto met with no obstruction, and yet had received nothing like an invitation to approach. At this moment the feelings of the spectators were wound up to a pitch of the most intense curiosity and most painful anxiety. The persons who immediately surrounded her carriage knew no bounds in expressing their enthusiastic attachment, while many of those in the galleries,[2] apprehensive of the consequences of the experiment which she was making, could not restrain their fears and alarms. In the meantime great confusion seemed to prevail among the officers and soldiers on and near the platform ; the former giving orders and retracting them, and the latter running to their arms, uncertain whether they should salute her by presenting them or not. Astonishment, hurry, and doubt seemed to agitate the

[1] The platform for the procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey.

[2] The galleries erected in the open spaces for spectators.

whole multitude assembled either to witness or compose the ensuing pageant. She alighted from her carriage and proceeded on foot, leaning on the arm of Lord Hood, and accompanied by the faithful companions of her affliction, Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton, to demand admission. The approach of the Queen towards the hall-door produced a considerable sensation within: there was an immediate rush to the door, which was closed amidst much confusion. The officer on guard —we believe Colonel M'Kinnon—was immediately summoned to the spot, and asked her Majesty for her ticket. She replied that she had none, and as Queen of England needed none. He professed his sorrow, but said he must obey orders, and that his orders were to see that no person whatever should be admitted without a ticket. Her Majesty then retired. The party went to the door of the Duchy of Lancaster behind the Champion's stable, and had the door shut in their faces. They then turned round, and leaving the royal carriage behind, proceeded to demand admission at another entrance. The same intense sensation of interest and the same applause, mixed with partial disapprobation, continued to follow her.

"When she arrived nearly at the other extremity of the platform—that which was opposite to the central pavilion—her further progress was arrested by a file of about a dozen soldiers, who were suddenly ordered to form across the platform. Her Majesty then quitted it, and went straight on to the House of Lords on foot, there to repeat the same request and with the same success.

"In about twenty minutes she returned, and having ordered the top of her carriage to be taken down, rode off amid the astonishment and acclamations of the people.

"We subjoin the following account from the *Courier* of her Majesty's reception at the door of Westminster Abbey:

"'Lord Hood having desired admission for her Majesty, the door-keepers drew across the entrance and requested to see the tickets.

"'Lord Hood: I present you your Queen; surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket.

"'Doorkeeper: Our orders are to admit no person without a peer's ticket.

"'Lord Hood: This is your Queen: she is entitled to admission without such a form.

"'The Queen (smiling, but still in some agitation): Yes, I am your Queen. Will you admit me?

"'Doorkeeper: My orders are specific, and I feel myself bound to obey them.

"'The Queen laughed.

"'Lord Hood: I have a ticket.

"'Doorkeeper: Then, my lord, we will let you pass upon producing it.

"'Lord Hood now drew from his pocket a peer's ticket for one person; the original name in whose favour it was drawn was erased, and the name of 'Wellington' substituted.

"'Doorkeeper: This will let one person pass, but no more.

"'Lord Hood: Will your Majesty go in alone?

"'Her Majesty at first assented, but did not persevere.

"'Lord Hood: Am I to understand that you refuse her Majesty admission?

"'Doorkeeper: We only act in conformity with our orders.

"'Her Majesty again laughed.

"'Lord Hood: Then you refuse the Queen admission?

"'A doorkeeper of a superior order then came forward, and was asked by Lord Hood whether any preparations had been made for her Majesty. He was answered respectfully in the negative.

"'Will your Majesty enter the Abbey without your ladies?

"'Her Majesty declined.

"'Lord Hood then said that her Majesty had better retire to her carriage. It was clear no provision had been made for her accommodation.

"'Her Majesty assented.

"'Some persons within the porch of the Abbey laughed, and uttered some expressions of disrespect.

"'Lord Hood: We expected to have met at least with the conduct of gentlemen. Such conduct is neither manly nor mannerly.

"'Her Majesty then retired, leaning on Lord Hood's arm, and followed by Lady Hood and Lady Hamilton.

"'She was preceded by constables back to the platform, over which she returned, entered her carriage, and was driven off amidst reiterated shouts of mingled applause and disapprobation.'

"Her Majesty returned through Pall Mall, St. James's Street, and Piccadilly, followed all along by a great concourse of people. In St. James's Street the water had previously created abundance of mud, and this material the crowd bestowed upon some public offices which were prepared for an illumination. During the whole course of her Majesty's progress no accident occurred."

Croker asserts that Caroline retreated attended only by a thin and shabby mob, and was hooted by the spectators.

"She went off in a rage of disappointment. She no doubt

came down not to be let in, for she took care to have but one ticket, and that one irregular, though she might have had fifty good ones, and would have been let in if she had produced a proper ticket. The attempt to get in was therefore only a pretence for the parade through the streets, and that, I firmly believe, was *calculated* to try her strength, and it only proved her weakness" (*Croker Papers*, vol. i. p. 197).

He says, however, that there were serious doubts at one time of the fidelity of the troops. The Queen in her pinchbeck progress pointed to "God Save the King," put up for the evening illuminations, at which her mob hooted. A few cries of "Queen!" had assailed George IV., as he drove through the streets with a bodyguard the night before, and at certain play-houses "God Save the King" was drowned in shouts for her. But there was little real unselfish enthusiasm for her cause. Poor Caroline was no Vashti. "No one cares for me," she wrote, "and this business has been more cared for as a political affair than as the cause of a poor forlorn woman." Three weeks later George's Dublin festivities were interrupted, but not stopped, by the news of her death.

The Prince of Wales

It is a singular fact that though there have been Princes of Wales for more than six centuries, the first to do homage at a Coronation was our present King, for Harry of Monmouth, James I.'s son Henry, and Anne's son the Duke of Gloucester, had not been elevated to that dignity at the time of the Coronation. George I.'s heir was in Hanover. George II.'s heir would not attend his father's sacring. Holinshed relates that, when Richard III. was consecrated King, Queen Anne led by the hand their ten-year-old boy, Edward, who died the next year. But this is denied by other writers.

Happily in 1911 a Prince of Wales is once more to be created ceremonially. We have a description of the

investiture of Henry, son of James I., in the Parliament House, June 4, 1610, the King putting on him the purple mantle, girding him with the sword, investing him with gold rod and ring, and putting the cap and coronal on his head. Nineteen Bishops were present. Afterwards there was a banquet. Edward, son of Richard III., was invested in the principality of Wales with similar symbols when his father was recrowned at York, 8th September, 1483.

EXCURSUS B

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE SOLEMNITY OF 1902

On the previous evening the Regalia, which had already been brought from the Tower to St. James's Palace and placed under the custody of the Lord Chamberlain, were placed in a semi-State chariot and conducted by a detachment of Horse Guards with drawn sabres, and a detachment of Yeomen of the Guard, to Westminster Abbey, where the Dean and Chapter were in waiting. A procession was then formed to the Jerusalem Chamber, where the "Honours of England" were lodged under a strong guard. The Queen's new crown had been brought privately from Messrs. Carrington's, the makers. It was composed entirely of 3600 diamonds in silver settings, that metal displaying best their brilliancy, so that gold was only used on the hidden parts of the mounting. In the centre was the Koh-i-Noor, with which it is believed in India that the sovereignty of Hindostan goes. The weight was only 22 oz. 15 dwt.; that of Queen Victoria's Crown Imperial was 39 oz.

On the Coronation Day—shortly after nine—a procession was formed in the Jerusalem Chamber, headed by sixty of the Queen's Scholars of Westminster, after whom walked the children of the choirs of the Abbey and the Chapel Royal (in their scarlet and gold). Then came the clergy of the Abbey and the Prebendaries, bearing the Regalia. As they entered the vestibule of the Chapter House, and passed thence into St. Edward's

Chapel, the chorale, "Rejoice to-day with one accord," was sung. The Abbey clergy were now seen by the congregation entering the Sanctuary from behind, and, after the Sub-Dean had reverently laid the emblems of sovereignty and the sacred vessels upon the high altar, they rejoined the choir in Henry VII.'s Chapel, where the Litany was sung by two Bishops. At its close, the priests of the Abbey assembled again before the high altar, and received thence what each was to carry; the choir meanwhile waiting at the foot of the steps, whence a solemn progress was made down the nave with silver trumpets and the singing of Watts's noble hymn, "O God, our help in ages past," the drums throbbing meanwhile. Reaching the Annexe, which the choir did not enter, the Prebendaries delivered back the jewels and vessels into the charge of the Lord Chamberlain, laying them upon a temporary altar there. This Procession of the Regalia was carried out in a thoroughly dignified manner.

As soon as it was finished, the trumpets rang out, and the Procession of Prince and Princesses of the Blood Royal[1] entered the church, headed by Portcullis and Bluemantle Pursuivants and the Comptroller of the Household. This was almost entirely a procession of royal ladies with their train-bearers and ladies and gentlemen in attendance. The Duke of Connaught entered by himself, and the Prince and Princess of Wales were conducted to their places in a separate Procession. His Royal Highness's train was borne by two pages, his coronet by the Comptroller of the Household, and he was attended by a Lord of the Bedchamber. The Princess had a circlet of gold on her head, her train being borne by her Bedchamber Women and her coronet by her Chamberlain, the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose own coronet was carried by his page, the Lord Erskine. Sir

[1] There had been an earlier entrance of the royal personages invited to the solemnity. But the Special Missions, except that from Abyssinia, had all left England after the postponement.

Arthur Bigge also attended her Royal Highness. This Procession was headed by Windsor and Richmond Heralds, and by Colonel Arthur Collins; it was closed by four Equerries and an Indian Aide-de-camp. The Heir-Apparent was conducted to a seat in front of the Peers, having the Duke of Connaught on his right and the aged Duke of Cambridge on his left. The Royal Closet was placed on the south side of the Sanctuary, where the tapestry and picture of Richard II. usually hang. Opposite to it was the double row of seats for the non-officiant Bishops, twenty-one in number, behind which were stages for the special friends of the Royal Family. A little to the west was the stool of the Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, who wore a mantle of Venetian red silk.

The decoration of the interior of the Abbey Church, under the care of Viscount Esher and Mr. Micklethwaite, the Abbey architect, provided "a framework of pure, vivid, and gracious colour, which threw into the highest relief every detail in the magnificent richness of the later picture, and drew every gleam of the opal, every shade of the prism, into one soft, deep harmony of innumerable dyes." The colour chosen for the background of so many rich robes was a delicate blue, a Worcester carpet of which colour stretched like a river from the western door to the Choir screen. The boxes projecting from the arches on both sides of the nave were hung with tapestries of alternate blue and old gold. Inside the screen, the Choir was draped in gold only. The Theatre and Sanctuary were spread with noble Eastern carpets, brought, as it were, out of the Arabian Nights. In both transepts galleries of elegant white "Chippendale" chairs swept up on either side almost to the tracery of the great rose windows, the ground beneath exhibiting a soft grey blue. In the midst of this dreamy paleness the Thrones and Chairs of Recognition, as well as those in the Sanctuary and in the royal Closets, stood out in richest crimson and gold, the cushions on the

faldstools being of white silk fringed with gold. When it is remembered that for Queen Victoria's Jubilee of 1887 the majestic church was, out of compliment to the Order of the Bath, draped by a firm of undertakers in what was called "red baize, looking like cold blood, with a spotty and mean pattern," the contrast can be better appreciated.

The High Altar was adorned, according to the ancient custom, with priceless pieces of goldsmith's work, other golden vessels being ranged on a credentia to the south—massive candelabra, exquisite chalices and burnished flagons and dishes. The two great tapers were, of course, lit, and the Altar was richly vested in a splendid crimson carpet or lower frontal of embossed velvet, in the middle of which the emblems of the Confessor in deep azure and gold were surrounded by the lions of England, the St. Andrew's cross, and the Irish harp. Before the altar stood the ancient Coronation Chair, not covered, as usual, with a rich pall,[1] but in all its bare and mutilated majesty, hacked and carved with a hundred names and initials. The little lions on which it stands, however, had been re-gilded.

Shortly after ten o'clock the great organ and other instruments had begun to play marches by modern composers, Sir Frederick Bridge's doctor's robe making an effective splash of colour on the screen. As he faced the orchestra, his beat, when the singing began, had to be repeated to the choirs—which included the choirs of St. Paul's, St. George's Windsor, and Rochester, as well as a number of picked vocalists—on the Decani and Cantoris sides by two sub-conductors, Sir George Martin of St. Paul's, and Dr. F. C. Bridge of Chester Cathedral. The only slight mistake made was in

[1] Thus in the *Little Device* (Henry VII.), "the King shall sit in a chaire prepared as to so high estate accordable." In the Accompts for Elizabeth's Coronation we find: "Cloth of silver incarnate for covering Saint Edward's Chair, 18½ yards." Walker's list for Charles II. speaks of "St. Edward's Chayre richly furnished."

connexion with the carefully rehearsed *Vivats* of the Westminster Boys in the "Nunneries." Just as the Queen entered the Quire, the music died away, the organ was hushed, and the well-drilled shouts, grafted on to the anthem, "I was glad," rang out from under the roof, being then caught up by the "full-voiced choir below,"—"Vivat Regina Alexandra! Vivat, vivat!" At the King's entrance this effect was repeated—"Vivat Rex Edwardus, Rex et Imperator! Vivat, vivat, vivat!" —but the dazzling procession was difficult to read from above, and the conductor's signal was given too soon. The responsive shouts were hesitating and weak, but were renewed energetically when the right moment came. The Westminsters' "three cheers" at the end of the Solemnity jarred upon some reverent minds. It had been at first proposed that Sir Hubert Parry's opening Anthem, "I was glad," should be sung by the Abbey Choir at the head of the Procession. Among the singers were some historic veterans, one of whom had sung seventy years before at the obsequies of George IV., one at William IV.'s Coronation, and one at Queen Victoria's. Some of the most famous names in the musical world were enrolled. It may be mentioned that the Bishops who had to intone rehearsed their parts beforehand with Sir Frederick Bridge.

While waiting for the Queen's, and then the King's Procession, the aged Lord Primate rested on a high stool a little west of St. Edward's Chair. The Archbishop of York had taken his place to the north of the Altar. For the use of the consecrating Metropolitans there had been prepared inscribed scrolls, each in a protecting cover of finely embroidered velvet, embossed with allegorical designs. For the Archbishop of Canterbury these had to be made very large; nor did this prevent mistakes. And the scrolls, having to be held before his Grace, detracted from dignity by the interposition of a third person, usually the Bishop of Winchester, to whom the scrolls were brought by the Dean of the Royal Chapels. It is

the testimony of all who were near that the infirmity of the venerable Archbishop, while bringing out his marvellous courage and pathetic to look back upon, was very distressing to those around, and must have been exceedingly trying to the King and the Queen. His rugged utterance, indeed, was strong and unfaltering, and when the assistant clergy went to his aid, "Go away," he said, "it is not my head but my legs." But it was throughout the Service a matter of painful uncertainty whether he would reach the end. A spectator, describing the actual crowning of the King, says :—

"Up to this point the Archbishop had preserved his deep and penetrating voice, but more and more the signs of extreme physical weakness were evident. Attended by a group of prelates, he moved slowly down the steps of the altar, Canon Duckworth carrying the Crown. As his Grace took the diadem in his hands, it was clear that the highest privilege of his place was a grievous tax upon the strength that had almost succumbed to the prolonged stress and effort of these strange and moving rites, which again and again had reached moments of intense feeling that reached the heart and shook the nerve of all who assisted at this surpassing scene. At first, when the Archbishop raised the Crown, he seemed about to place it upon the King's head the wrong way. With a gesture of infinite kindness his Majesty assisted the Primate. Slowly, slowly, with trembling hands, while the gems of the regal symbol seemed to dance upon the air, the Crown was again raised high. There was an instant of terrible tension in which all who beheld this pathetic tableau hardly dared to think what they feared. And then—then—the Archbishop leaned forward, and the Crown descended gently and truly upon the brow of the King. It was consummated. The postponed Coronation was achieved. After sixty-four years St. Edward's Crown had passed to another Sovereign of our race. Who shall tell what strange sense of joy, or even of sudden amazement, seized the spectators, when then the accomplishment of the very act upon which the hopes of the Empire and the imagination of mankind had hung stood revealed? But almost before these thoughts had flashed across the mind the sense was swept away upon a new and irresistible current of emotion. The electric lights leaped up, and a flood of radiance upon the Sacrarium and the crowned King suffused and transformed the scene. In instantaneous sympathy, quick as the light or before it, an immense cry of homage, 'God save

the King! God save the King!' burst from thousands of throats again and again. and thundered through the nave and transepts, while the bray of silver trumpets swelled above the scene. Then in a moment the dull booming of the Tower guns was borne through the clashing of the bells. Meantime the Archbishop pronounced the exhortation, 'Be strong and of a good courage,' the choir taking up the theme in Sir Walter Parratt's fine *Confortare*. It was in the midst of this wonderful symphony of rejoicing that the fears for the Archbishop were renewed. Bishops and canons hastened to his side, and he was slowly helped away to St. Edward's Chapel, from which, after a brief repose, he issued somewhat restored, the old saint at the bourne of life commending the Scriptures to the King, newly risen from the verge of death."[1]

The Archbishop did not himself pronounce the Eucharistic absolution. Perhaps it would have been safer if he had followed Juxon's example in 1661, and only performed the actual consecratory anointing—the most essential portion of the Rite. But all was well that ended well. After the Fealty King Edward is recorded to have kissed the Metropolitan's hand.

The Procession of the King seems to have resolved itself into two, owing to the front part of it having started before the King was ready. For artistic effect it is always desirable that a procession should be broken up into sections. But for a moment it was feared by many that the King's strength had given way. The writer already quoted describes the scene thus :—

"As the Queen's Procession passed into the Choir, a low murmur thrilled through the Abbey, and it seemed as though for the vast multitude assembled within its walls there had burst upon the imagination for the first time the full sense of what a Coronation means. Then a pause, a thrilling pause, ensued for the climax of the great Procession. The silence seemed to throb with the sense of suppressed tension. What exterior sounds of martial music or national enthusiasm or pealing belfries might have blared or roared without, none within the church any longer knew. Throughout the glorious shrine—in nave, in choir, in transepts north and south—the whole assembly stood up in the shape of a vast jewelled cross

[1] *Daily Telegraph*, 11th August 1902, p. 10.

set in the cruciform structure of the minster itself. Every eye was turned with absorbed attention to the west for the appearance of the new King who was to be crowned in England. At last the glittering heralds and pursuivants appeared, and the advance of the bearers of the Regalia was commenced, the head of a procession so long, so crowded, so instinct with apparent and imagined glory. . . . At last, framed in the western doorway, came the King. With the authentic assurance of his presence, it seemed as if some spell of lingering fate were broken. With firm but deliberate pace his Majesty walked down the nave, with the presence and majesty of a King. . . .

"Never was a State procession marshalled with more superb perfection. We have heard of the poetry of motion. From the first entry to the close of this glittering and supreme spectacle, the slow, smooth, equable rhythm of its movement conveyed an impression of dignity and unsurpassable stateliness."

For the Recognition, had the King's strength allowed, his Majesty would have been presented to his subjects by the Archbishop at the four sides of the Theatre, and a new musical feature was designed by Sir Frederick Bridge. For the cadence of the four State trumpeters, after each Asking, employing the same passage each time, he substituted a fanfare of four varying sections, adapted from the trumpet calls in *Lohengrin*, and raised the number of performers to twelve, with trombones and drums.

A full rehearsal took place at the Abbey on 25th June of the entire Ceremony, excepting the musical and religious portions, under the superintendence of the Earl Marshal himself. Except the royal personages, practically every one who was to take part in the Solemnity was present, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor.

Some other points of interest are here added.

The *Times* mentions that the Marquess of Londonderry, bearing the Sword of State, saluted the Altar with it. The Queen, after her humble adoration to the Altar, made a reverent obeisance to the King's as yet empty Throne. As the King and Queen knelt, the many-voiced murmur of the Abbey was stilled. Her

Majesty occasionally accepted the hand of one of her Supporters, the Bishops of Oxford and Norwich, chosen because of the connexion respectively with Windsor and Sandringham. The *Church Times* observes that the excision of the Litany brought the sweet and tender Introit of Sullivan, "Hearken thou unto the voice of my calling," into most appropriate and affecting juxtaposition with the clamatory seal of the people's voice and the trumpet-toned notes of triumph. "It was at this instant that more than one noticed a tremor of emotion pass over the King." For the Benediction by the Metropolitan, before the Inthronization, his Majesty advanced to kneel at his faldstool at the foot of the Altar.

The Peers and most of the vast congregation turned to the East during the Credo, but only a few members of the House of Commons did so—possibly, as they could not see the Sanctuary, they were unable to follow the Church Service, to which many of them were unaccustomed. During the Canon, "all in the Sacrarium were naturally kneeling, save the young Pages who held the royal trains. Just before the Consecration Prayer, her Majesty gave a slight glance round, and, noting their attitude, signified what they should do with a very gentle and unobtrusive gesture, a gesture instantly obeyed by all the lads." The Archbishop took the north-end position, "which never appeared more singularly awkward." The Ablutions were taken by two of the assistant clergy.

The gorgeous and florid splendour of "Zadok the Priest," composed by Handel for George II.'s Coronation, is a masterpiece of jubilant sound, but inappropriate to the awful moment of the Anointing, of which, of course, nothing can be seen or heard save by a very few. Such a mystic ceremony is eminently a moment for the solemn, ancient music. But this "Zadok" has now been sung at six Sacrings. During the long pause of the Recess, the *Te Deum* was followed by two verses of "God save the King," and an English version (from the pen of Mr. A. C. Benson) of Wagner's "Kaisermarsch,"

though not specified in the form of Service. By the King's command there was no solo-singing throughout the Service. The new idea of linking Coronation music to processional and ceremonial movements has profoundly modified the choice of the compositions to be performed, which must be of a certain brevity.

The Pall for the Anointing was brought out by four Esquires from St. Edward's Chapel, as also were the Bread and Wine—by two Bishops—for the King to offer. While being vested in the Dalmatic "the King was seen standing and vigorously assisting in putting on the short super-tunic of dazzling cloth of gold, and girding the same." He seemed clad in glittering mail from head to foot. The consecration of the Queen by the Archbishop of York was an innovation, to be deprecated on several grounds, one being that such consecration should be performed by the consecrator of the Eucharist. But "it was an enormous relief, after the anxiety about Archbishop Temple's weakness, to hear the clear, sweet notes of Archbishop Maclagan." The putting on by the Peeresses of their coronets, as soon as the Queen had received her Crown, was "a singularly ungraceful and prolonged proceeding, for it required much dexterity to affix the small-sized toy coronets and their crimson velvet bags into right position. Had the Earl Marshal followed expert advice, and insisted on the ancient and far more comely full-sized coronets, all this would have been avoided."

After the Recess, the Queen's returning Procession was divided by a considerable interval from the King's. "By some strange electric impulse there burst in one moment from the benches bordering the blue carpet, from the packed bays of the nave above them, and from the triforium highest of all, a wild and mighty outleap of a people's tenderness and homage to its Sovereign as stupendous and thrilling as ever stormed and thundered through the Abbey." The King passed with stately inclination right and left. But, says another

observer, "on his face was no smile, he looked grave, even stern; there was on his brow some of that radiance of sovereignty which is the Divine attribute of kings—a monarch thus consecrated belongs no longer to himself."

The Solemnity began at 11.30. The actual Crowning was expected to take place about 12.5, but the waiting crowds did not hear the cannon till more than half-an-hour later. The King and Queen entered their coach to return to Buckingham Palace at 2.10.

The Holy Bible, bound in red morocco, was the gift of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. It is now at Lambeth Palace. The Colobium, of the finest linen, and Supertunica were made at Braintree, and embroidered at the Royal School of Art Needlework, to which other works for the Coronation were entrusted. The Queen's train was worked from designs of Mr. Frederick Vigers by the Ladies' Work Society. Into the patterns of the King's Pallium was woven, for the first time, together with the rose, thistle, shamrock, and imperial eagle, the lotus-flower of India. Round the ancient Monarchy had grown up, since the preceding Coronation, a mighty extension of empire—*e.g.* next to the Scottish Moderator sat in the Abbey an Asiatic Aga. But at the heart of the complex and confused life of modern imperialism lies consecrated the simple ideal of old kingship.

The following supplementary details of the last Coronation were contributed to the *Church Times* of August 22, 1902, by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, F.S.A., the eminent antiquary. Mr. Hope was on duty in the church as one of the Gold Staff Officers, by whom the congregation were conducted to and from their places :—

"The Coronation of a King and Queen of England is an event that happens so seldom that it is desirable to place on record every incident connected with it.

"People began to assemble as soon as the doors were opened,

one of the first arrivals being the aged Archbishop of Armagh, who, with the aid of a lady who accompanied him, walked slowly and painfully to his seat on the north side of the presbytery. The stream gradually increased, but at no time was there any crush or confusion, and by degrees almost every seat was filled. The behaviour of those assembled during the long wait was all that could be expected. There was none of the reading of papers, etc., that characterised the Jubilee service of 1887, but a subdued quiet pervaded every one, and all conversation was carried on in a low tone, the ladies of course having much to interest them in the dresses of the peeresses and royal guests.

"I was not able to avail myself of an opportunity of seeing the procession through the cloister with the Regalia; nor could I hear a note of the Litany, which for some occult reason was sung in a hole-and-corner way in the Lady Chapel instead of in the choir, where it would have formed a fitting prelude to what was to follow. The hallowing by Bishop Welldon of the new altar of St. Edward, and of the ampul with the cream for the anointing, were notified to the congregation at large by the singing of two hymns. These proceedings were followed by the entry, through the altar-screen doors, of the members of the Chapter of Westminster with the Regalia, which were deposited by them on the high altar. The clergy then returned into St. Edward's Chapel to reissue in solemn procession, singing a hymn, and headed by the Abyssinian votive cross, which had been gilded and mounted on a staff for the occasion. Before the cross walked the Westminster King's Scholars and the united choirs. The members of the Chapter, as they passed the altar, took up again in order the several pieces of the Regalia and carried them down to the western porch, to be there ready for their delivery to the great officers of State.

"The processions of (1) the Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal, (2) the royal guests and their suites, and (3) the Prince and Princess of Wales, which followed, formed part of the pageantry of the occasion and not of the Coronation Service.

"The great procession with which the service actually began was broken into four sections. The first included the Chaplains-in-Ordinary, who wore surplices, black scarves, and scarlet mantles; the Sub-Dean of the chapels royal; Canon Hervey, and the Dean of Windsor, who wore his murrey mantle as Registrar of the Order of the Garter. Then came the Prebendaries and the Dean of Westminster in red velvet copes; a group of pursuivants in their tabards; the officers of the several Orders of Knighthood; the bearers of the standards of Ireland, Scotland, and England; the Vice-Chamberlain; Sir Hugh Gough, with the King's and Queen's Rings and the

Sword for the Offering; and the four Knights of the Garter appointed to carry the canopy for the King's anointing. Several more officers of State followed, and then the Archbishop of York in a white cope, the Lord High Chancellor, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, also in a white cope. All these processions are regulated by the hide-bound and stagnating precedents of the College of Arms, otherwise surely this was an occasion when the Abyssinian envoy's votive cross should have headed the procession. The two Archbishops should also each have carried his crosier, and had his cross borne before him; in the case of the Archbishop of Canterbury by his cross-bearer, the Bishop of Rochester.

"The second part of the procession was that of the Queen's Regalia, and of the Queen herself. The Bishops of Oxford and Norwich, who supported the Queen, wore rich copes, but neither was mitred nor carried his crosier.

"The third part of the procession was that of the King's Regalia, and should have included that of the King himself; but a long interval succeeded before the last part appeared, headed by the Bishops of Ely, London, and Winchester, all in copes, and carrying respectively the paten, the Bible, and the chalice. Like the Bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells, who supported the King, and also wore copes, none wore a mitre nor carried the crosier, typical of his high office. The King's robes were of crimson and not purple velvet, and consisted of the surcoat and Mantle of State, over which was the gold collar of the Order of the Garter. On the King's head was the Cap of State, of plain crimson velvet turned up with ermine.

"The entry of the processions, the Recognition, the beginning of the Coronation Mass, and the Sacring, have been fully described by your representative.

"Of the ceremonies preceding the crowning I did not see any putting on of the *colobium sindonis*, nor did I observe the Duke of Newcastle present the glove. The Crown wherewith the King was crowned was not, as directed by the Coronation order, the heavy gold St. Edward's Crown, with its imitation pearls and gems, but the Imperial Crown studded all over with diamonds, which was made for Queen Victoria. The act of crowning was unfortunately marred by the Archbishop in his blindness putting the crown on the King's head the wrong way, and so necessitating the re-imposition. Had the electric light been turned on sooner, as the increasing gloom demanded, instead of at the crowning, the mistake might not have occurred, and the theatrical effect so properly condemned would have been avoided.

"The homage of the peers was a more imposing ceremony

than one had looked for. According to the Coronation Order, the seniors of each degree were severally to do their homage in person to the King, while the rest of each degree meanwhile knelt in their places ; but to save time the five seniors actually did their homage together, kneeling in a row before the King, and the rest of the peers knelt all at once in their places instead of in batches.

"The peers meanwhile had doffed their coronets, which they had assumed when the King was crowned; but I noticed one peer kneeling behind the King who kept his coronet on. After assisting the aged Archbishop from his knees after doing his homage, the King kissed the Archbishop's hand before relinquishing it.

"The Coronation of the Queen by the Archbishop of York came as a real relief after the painful efforts of his brother of Canterbury to get through his part of the service. According to the Order, the Archbishop ought to have taken the Queen's Crown from off the altar and set it on the Queen's head, and then said, 'Receive the Crown,' etc. But the Crown was brought from off the altar on a cushion by the Sub-Dean, and so held by him until the Archbishop had concluded the form of delivery, after which the Queen was crowned. The crown itself was a new one, with four arches instead of the two of the King's Crown, and glittered with beautiful diamonds. The assumption by the peeresses of their coronets at the moment of the Queen's crowning was an extraordinary sight, owing to the simultaneous raising for the purpose of several hundred pairs of white-gloved hands. Quite a long time elapsed before every lady had secured on her hair the red-bagged toy coronets which the inexorable and antiquated rules of the College of Arms insist upon her wearing.

"On the resumption of the Communion Service the Bread and Wine were duly offered by the King, as were the palls and the gold by both King and Queen ; but I did not observe that the Archbishop said the important prayer, 'Bless, O Lord, we beseech Thee, these Thy gifts,' etc. Immediately after the Prayer of Consecration a curious incident occurred. The Bishop of Durham, who was kneeling on the left of the King, turned and whispered to him, whereupon the King rose from his knees and sat down. The Queen followed suit. The peers and officials behind, who had meanwhile been reverently kneeling on the various steps, hesitatingly rose to their feet, and the occupants of the galleries, who were also for the most part kneeling or trying to kneel, resumed their seats. But the Bishop again whispered to the King, who at once returned to his kneeling position, an example which was immediately followed by the Queen and her attendants and pages, and by

peers and others who had been kneeling before. The group of Bishops on the north side of the presbytery alone continued to kneel throughout.

"The Communion of the King and Queen was a most painful sight, owing to the infirmity of the Archbishop and Dean who communicated them.

"After the Blessing the Archbishop retired with the King and Queen and the great officers of State into St. Edward's Chapel. The ablutions were presently reverently done by two of the Canons of Westminster. During the temporary absence of the King and Queen all restraint was gone, and conversation at once became general; and although the choir had meanwhile begun to sing *Te Deum*, it received as little attention as a mere voluntary. Hardly was it ended when some person below the choir so far forgot himself as to cry, 'Gentlemen, three cheers for the King,' which were promptly given, and the departure presently, first of the Queen, and lastly of the King, who wore his crown and purple velvet robes, was the signal for further cheering and applause.

"These defects apart, the service itself was characterised throughout by the greatest dignity and reverence, and from the beginning to the giving of the Blessing one fully realised that the King had come to be anointed and crowned at the hands of the Church. It is much to be regretted that the Bishops did not wear their copes and mitres and bring their crosiers. The absence of their proper dress and emblems of authority was the more marked, since every one else who took any part in the ceremony wore distinctive dress and carried his ensigns of office. Several of the Bishops habitually wear mitres and nearly all have crosiers, though they do not know what to do with them; the present occasion might therefore have been taken advantage of for the general adoption of mitres and staves.

"In conclusion, may I say how cordially I endorse all that has been said about the contemptible sham antique structure set up at the western entrance into the church; but I think it ought to be known that the surveyor to the Dean and Chapter, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, is entirely guiltless.

"It is also right to point out that the greatly reduced size of the galleries in the church, and the omission of others, especially those so indecently set up in former days above the altar and at the west end, was due to an article by Mr. Somers Clarke in the *Nineteenth Century* for September, 1901, calling attention to the scandalous treatment of the building in 1887. The beautiful blue and yellow hangings that have been so much admired were also selected by Mr. Somers Clarke, and their general disposition suggested by him. They were, however,

intended to have been hung after the old manner as true hangings, but the upholsterers of the Office of Works have turned them into mere draperies. The great blue carpet was also, in the first place, designed by Mr. Clarke, but here again the pattern has been debased into a design in relief by the same corrupt traditions."—W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.

Mr. J. E. C. Bodley, in his *Coronation of Edward VII.*, p. 233, thus describes the postponement of the Rite fixed for June 26, 1902[1]:—

"Of all the persons who woke in London on June 24, none had any disquiet, except a small group of anxious watchers within the royal palace. Midsummer Day broke with unclouded splendour. From an early hour the streets were filled with a light-hearted crowd, rambling gaily beneath the festoons and the arches under which the royal procession was to pass forty-eight hours later. The last rehearsal of the Coronation Service was to take place that morning.

"On entering the Gothic vestibule the distant sound of chanting told those who were invited that the repetition had begun. The ancient Abbey, always dim, had had its light further veiled by the scaffolds erected for the spectators of the Coronation. But any effect of solemnity was on previous days of rehearsal removed by the air of animation which pervaded the building. On these days the Abbey was a bustling scene, from the old altar steps to the outer porch, hung with armour and tapestry, and placarded with the names of great officers of State who were there to await the Sovereign on the Coronation morning. Peers tried on their coronets, ecclesiastics compared their vestments, pages and heralds, maids-of-honour and statesmen, practised their paces for the procession.

"But on this midsummer forenoon there was a hushed stillness in the approaches to the sanctuary which was not the effect of contrast between the blare of the glaring street and the calm of the softly-lit Abbey. No hurrying, falling groups moved over the emblazoned carpet stretched the length of the now deserted nave. Beyond the screen, whence came subdued strains of chanting, it seemed as though a solemn service were in progress, and not a mere recital of music. Within the choir this impression was heightened. What meant the spectacle of all these people devoutly kneeling, while a Bishop in suppliant tones said the Litany and the singers above sang the responses with a pathos which seemed uncalled for? Why,

[1] I have slightly condensed the account.

too, did the aged Dean, in trembling accents, pronounce the blessing which had no place in this portion of the liturgy? If other rehearsals erred on the side of irreverence, this tragic realism in the repetition of a festal rite seemed not less inappropriate.

"The voice of the chief conductor of the music telling his singers and musicians to go home soon explained the lamentable mystery. The life of the King at that moment was depending on the skill and sureness of a surgeon's hand.

"No sooner had the plaintive sound of prayer died away than all the assembly, save one small group, silently and swiftly departed. The sudden solitude and silence of the great church, decked out with festal trappings for the joyful pageant, was overpowering. And the contrast was acute between the sombre stillness of the deserted Abbey and the clamorous gaiety outside; for London was a great pleasure fair that morning.

"In the afternoon, when a great quietness had fallen on the crowded streets, the aspect of London was a striking proof that the loyalty of the people was not the outcome of a craving for spectacle and amusement."

EXCURSUS C

TWO NINETEENTH CENTURY CORONATIONS

GREVILLE wrote in his *Diary* on the eve of Queen Victoria's Coronation, on 28th June 1838 :—

"There never was anything seen like the state of this town. It is as if the population had been of a sudden quintupled; the uproar, the confusion, the crowd, the mass, was indescribable. Horsemen, footmen, carriages, squeezed, jammed, intermingled, the pavement blocked up with timbers, hammering and knocking, and falling fragments, stunning the ears and threatening the head; not a mob here and there, but the town all mob, thronging, bustling, gaping, and gazing at everything at anything, or at nothing; the park one vast encampment, with banners floating on the tops of the tents, and still the roads are covered, the railroads loaded with arriving multitudes. From one end of the route to the other there is a vast line of scaffold. The noise, the movement, the restlessness are incessant and universal."

He mentions that the Ambassadors disliked forming part of the carriage procession to Westminster, the poorer ones not fancying "the expense of fine equipages, or the mortification of exhibiting mean ones." In the result their chariots, the *Annual Register* says, were all new and very superb. "On entering the choir the Turkish Ambassador seemed absolutely bewildered; he stopped in astonishment, and for some time would not move on to his allotted place."

The Earl of Malmesbury, in his *Memoirs*, says :—

"It was a magnificent show, though we had to thank the Foreign Ambassadors for a great part of its splendour, as without them the procession would have been very little more brilliant than when the Queen goes down to the House of Lords to

open Parliament. The only people cheered besides the Queen were the Duchess of Kent, the Duke of Sussex, Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, and Marshal Soult. The latter was quite overcome by his reception, which was entirely unexpected by him, and he said it was a most noble trait in the English character to receive an old enemy so enthusiastically."[1]

Greville, too, says that Soult as he walked up the nave, preceded by heralds and ushers, was received with murmurs of curiosity and applause. The day was fine, without heat or rain, and the innumerable multitude was orderly and satisfied. "The Queen looked very diminutive, and the effect of the procession itself was spoilt by being too crowded."

What follows is from Dean Stanley's *Westminster Abbey* (p. 109):—

"The last Coronation, doubtless, still lives in the recollection of all who witnessed it. They will long remember the early summer morning when at break of day the streets were thronged and the vast City awake—the first sight of the Abbey, crowded with the mass of gorgeous spectators, themselves a pageant—the electric shock through the whole mass when the first gun announced that the Queen was on her way—and the thrill of expectation with which the iron rails seemed to tremble in the hands of the spectators as the long procession closed with the entrance of the small figure, marked out from all beside by the regal train and attendants, floating like a crimson and silvery cloud behind her. At the moment when she first came within the full view of the Abbey, and paused, as if for breath, with clasped hands—as she moved on to her place by the altar, as, in the deep silence of the vast multitude, the tremulous voice of Archbishop Howley could be faintly heard even to the remotest corners of the choir, asking for the recognition—as she sate immovable on the throne, when the crown touched her head, amidst shout and trumpet and the roar of cannon, there must have been many who felt the hope that the loyalty which had waxed cold in the preceding reigns would once more revive, in a more serious form than it had, perhaps, ever worn before. Other solemnities they may have seen more beautiful, or more strange, or more touching, but none at once so gorgeous and so impressive, in recollections, in actual sight, and in promise of what was to be."

[1] See also *Life of Charlotte M. Yonge*, p. 133.

The *Annual Register* says that in the evening all the theatres were, by the Queen's command, open free. The crowd was very orderly and forbearing. Only twenty persons throughout the whole day suffered arrest.

The following account of the last Coronation of a King and his Consort before that of 1902 is from Macaulay's *Life and Letters* (i. 176):—

"September 9, 1831.

"MY DEAR SISTER,

"I scarcely know where to begin, or where to end, my story of the magnificence of yesterday. . . . [Having been woken by the cannon at six,] I put on my court dress and looked a perfect Lovelace in it. . . . [At seven the glass coach came to the door.] . . . The House of Commons was crowded, and the whole assembly in uniform.[1] After prayers we went out in order by lot, the Speaker going last. My county, Wiltshire, was among the first drawn, so I got an excellent place in the Abbey next to Lord Mahon. . . . Our gallery was immediately over the great altar. The whole vast avenue of lofty pillars was directly in front of us. At eleven the guns fired, the organ struck up, and the procession entered. I never saw so magnificent a scene. All down that immense vista of gloomy arches there was one blaze of scarlet and gold. First came heralds in coats stiff with embroidered lions, unicorns, and harps; then nobles bearing the regalia, with pages in rich dresses carrying their coronets on cushions; then the Dean and prebendaries of Westminster in copes of cloth of gold; then a crowd of beautiful girls and women, or at least girls and women who at a distance looked altogether beautiful, attending on the Queen. Her train of purple and ermine was borne by six of these fair creatures. All the great officers of State in full robes, the Duke of Wellington with his Marshal's staff, the Duke of Devonshire with his white rod, Lord Grey with the Sword of State, and the Chancellor with the seals, came in procession. Then all the Royal Dukes with their trains borne behind them; and last the King, leaning on two Bishops. The whole Abbey was one blaze of gorgeous dresses, mingled with lovely faces.

"The Queen behaved admirably, with wonderful grace and

[1] In 1831 most of the Commons were in military costume, and the novelty was witnessed of some, from the north, in Highland dress. —(D. M.)

dignity. The King very awkwardly. The Duke of Devonshire looked as if he came to be crowned instead of his master. I never saw so princely a manner and air. The Chancellor looked like Mephistopheles behind Margaret in the church. The ceremony was much too long, and some parts of it were carelessly performed. The Archbishop mumbled. The Bishop of London preached well enough indeed, but not so effectively as the occasion required. . . . I was near enough to see every turn of the King's finger and every glance of his eye. The moment of the crowning was extremely fine. When the Archbishop placed the crown on the head of the King, the trumpets sounded, and all the blaze of splendour through the Abbey seemed to be doubled. The King was then conducted to the raised throne, where the Peers successively did homage, each of them kissing his cheek and touching the crown. Some of them were cheered, which I thought indecorous in such a place and on such an occasion."

The following account of the Entrance of King William IV. and Queen Adelaide, on which occasion, as in 1838, the Procession, which was confined to the Nave of the Church, was much curtailed, is taken from the *Mirror* of 10th September 1831 :—

"The Peers did not take their seats on their entrance ; their places were denoted by their names written on paper and sewn on the cushioned benches, so that scores of their Lordships left their coronets in their places, and betook themselves over to the Peeresses, while others joined in conversational groups nearly over the whole of the theatre. A signal gun announcing the start of the King from St. James's, however, put an end to these colloquies ; a busy stir ensued, and their Lordships were seated by half-past ten o'clock.

"The great officers of State, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the noblemen appointed to carry the Regalia, and the Bishops who were to support their Majesties, and to carry the Bible, etc., had in the meantime arrived at the Abbey in procession from the House of Lords.

"An anthem was played by the choir, and at its close the loud and long-continued huzzas of the multitude on the outside of the Abbey announced the near approach of their Majesties. The officers of arms and the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster, habited in their splendid stoles, marshalled themselves in the nave, along with the great officers of State, to receive them. At this moment the interest was intense. The Guards in the Abbey were under arms, such of the Peers and Peeresses

as were to join the procession moved down the aisle to take their places, the officers of the Earl Marshal were busily employed in preserving due regularity and order. Gradually, but slowly, the heralds were observed to advance. As they put themselves in motion, the glittering of the Regalia came in view. Shortly afterwards the waving plumes and gorgeous robes of the Princesses of the Blood Royal attracted general attention. The noblemen bearing the Queen's Regalia preceded their Royal mistress into the Abbey, and the clash of presented arms, and the enthusiastic acclaim of the spectators nearest the western door, informed those that were more distant of her Majesty's arrival. A short pause took place, then another advance, till by degrees the line of the procession extended itself in magnificent array in the Abbey. At length his Majesty made his appearance, and was received with applauding shouts. The choir immediately commenced the anthem 'I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord,' and this anthem lasted until the procession had reached its destination, and their Majesties had arrived at the theatre. The procession moved in the following manner: . . .

"As his Majesty entered the choir, the procession was visible in its whole length, and was one long trail of glittering splendour, which happily beamed on those who had been stationed to view the spectacle since five o'clock. The procession then filed off. The Princesses and their attendants were conducted by the officers of arms to their box.

"The Queen, preceded by her Majesty's Vice-Chamberlain, Lord Chamberlain, and the noblemen bearing her Regalia, and attended as before mentioned, ascended the theatre, and passed on the north side of her Throne to the Chair of State and Faldstool provided for her Majesty on the east side of the theatre below her Throne, and stood by the side chair until his Majesty's arrival. The Princes of the Blood Royal were conducted to their seats, as Peers, by the officers of arms.

"The King, ascending the theatre, passed on the south side of his Throne to his Chair of State, on the east side of the theatre, opposite to the Altar, and their Majesties, after their private devotion (kneeling on their Faldstools), took their respective seats; the Bishops, their supporters, standing on each side; the noblemen bearing the Four Swords on his Majesty's right hand; the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain and the Lord High Constable on his left; the great officers of State, the noblemen bearing his Majesty's Regalia, the Dean of Westminster, Garter, and Black Rod, standing about the King's Chair, and the train-bearers behind his Majesty.

"The Queen's officers, the noblemen who bore her Majesty's Regalia, her supporters, train-bearer, and assistants, stood

near her Majesty : her Lord Chamberlain on the right hand her Vice-Chamberlain on the left, and the ladies attendants behind her Majesty's chair. The Queen and King, as they advanced up the choir, were enthusiastically received, and all men cried 'God save them !'"

In the Order of Procession the names of the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria, then aged twelve, do not appear. The *Courier* remarked that the Duchess had "exhibited an indifference to public opinion which bodes ill in the instructress of a Constitutional Queen," and the *Times* spoke of a "systematic opposition on the part of her Royal Highness to all the wishes and all the feelings of the present King." The *Post*, resenting the "ruffianly and brutal attack" of the latter journal, "noted for its grossness and scurrility," asserted that a place had been assigned to the Princess derogatory to her rank ; while the *Globe* ascribed her Royal Highness's absence to her recent illness. The Duchess was a spectator of her Daughter's sacring seven years later, when there were present also the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, the latter with his boy and girl, both of whom were present at the Coronation of King Edward VII. sixty-four years later. The daughter of that little Princess is to be crowned Queen of England this year.

EXCURSUS D

THE PROCESSION FROM WESTMINSTER HALL

The Hall of Rufus and the Abbey of St. Peter are the heart and core of English history. Dean Stanley points out that in the Bayeux tapestry the hall is seen united by a bridge to the church, and a figure holds the crest of the latter with one hand, and a pinnacle of the former with the other. When at William IV.'s Coronation Westminster Hall was excluded from all share in the proceedings, a most lamentable severance was made from past centuries. "The sight of Westminster Hall, denuded of the grandeur which in all times has clothed it on such occasions," said the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "was melancholy and reproachful."

Here before the ancient inaugurations the King assembled his estates round him for a sort of Parliament. Rymer preserves Edward II.'s writ for summons to his Coronation, requiring the attendance of the people by their knights, citizens, and burgesses. To that of Henry I. "the clergy of England and the whole people," Selden says, were called, "when divers lawes were both made and declared."[1] The Sarum pontifical directs: "In the King's court, all the earls, leading citizens and nobles are to assemble, for treating wisely concerning as well the election of the new prince as the confirmation of the laws and customs of the realm." All acclaiming with agreeing voice, they are with gentleness and reverence, as the custom of the realm requires, to lift

[1] *Titles of Honour*, Part II., chap. v. p. 26.

him up into a proper seat, and then four great earls are to carry tidings of the same to the Metropolitan and the rest of the clergy sitting "cum summa tranquillitate" in the church, and pray that they will receive the Elect graciously in the church and hallow him to King. The Metropolitan will then send four Bishops and four Abbats to the people to ascertain if this is so, and, if they bring back word that it is so, then the clergy, following the Metropolitan, shall render thanks and praise to God. And presently two Bishops and a part of the clergy are to be sent to bring the Consecrand to the church, with tapers and crosses, singing the anthem *Firmetur manus tua*.

Maskell quotes from Rastell the description of Edward IV.: "He was brought into Westmynster, and there toke possessyon of the realme. And syttynge in the seate royall, in the great hall of Westmyster, with his septer in his hande, a question was axed of all the people, yf they wolde admitte hym to continue as kynge: to the whiche, with one voice, all the people cryed there, Ye." It was the long marble seat, 12 feet by 3 feet, called the King's Bench, in which the monarch was seated, and here at other times he or his judges administered justice. The Devise for Henry VII. says:—

"Accompanyed with his lords temporelles in their robes and noblemen, he shall come yerly, and it is founden by presidents by vj of the clokke, from his chambre into Westminster Hall, where he shall sitt vndre cloth of estate in the marble chair apparelled with clothes and quisshons of cloth of gold bawdekyn, as it apperteyneth."

The same for Henry VIII. From Tudor times all trace of a preliminary election (for which word, as early as Edward II., "consecratio" is substituted) disappears. But here the magnates of the realm assembled round their Sovereign to await the inbringing of the Regalia by the Convent, or Chapter, of Westminster, when they came to conduct him to the church.

George III.'s Procession was an hour late of starting, owing to the Sword of State (which, however, is not part

of the true Regalia) and the Baldacchinos having been forgotten. It was a wonder that the Hall was ready at all, for the workmen had struck for higher wages.

In the order of procession given below, the Queen's Procession is immediately preceded by two Esquires of Honour, "with robes worne bawdrich-wise and capps of Estate in their hands" (Car. I.), who from the end of the Hundred Years' War till George IV.'s Coronation represented the *Dukes of Normandy and Guienne* (or *Aquitaine*). The latter came to the English crown by Henry II.'s marriage with Eleanora, formerly Queen of Louis le Jeune. The duchies were finally lost in 1453, but the title "King of France," borne since the forty-third year of Edward III., was not relinquished by our Sovereigns till the Peace of Amiens in 1800. Norman-French is still used in the formulas for giving the King's assent to laws, on the stall-plates of the Knights of the Garter, and in certain other connexions The lilies of France have disappeared from the English shield, but "it has been remarked that the lions in the royal arms are all the insignia of territories now lost to us; the first belongs to Normandy, the second to Poictou or Maine, the third to Aquitaine" (Jones). The absent Dukes have usually been represented by two gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, but at George I.'s Coronation we read of a couple of players performing the part. At the Banquet they took precedence even of the Lord Primate.

The place of the old historic Duchies has been taken now by the young Colonies and India.

Richard III. and his Queen went in the procession "barefote." The old rubricks explain this to mean wearing buskins only, "without shoone." So Richard II., "arraid in the fairest vestments and with buskins only upon his feet."

Charles I., after delivering the crown to the Earl of Pembroke in Westminster Hall, went bareheaded in the procession, and "he continued soe till crowned" (D'Ewes). So did also Charles II. But James II. wore

with his "Parliament robes"—viz. a Surcoat of crimson velvet, a large Mantle of the same, with Hood, furred with ermine and bordered with rich gold lace—a crimson velvet Cap turned up with ermine. This Cap was worn by King Edward VII., but some of his predecessors wore the plumed hat of the Bath.

The following account by an eye-witness of the assembling in Westminster Hall for George IV.'s Procession is taken from *Coronation Anecdotes*, 1823, pp. 282-292 :—

"His Majesty was guarded through the night by the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Usher of the Black Rod. There were no preparations of importance. His Majesty's sofa bed was brought from Carlton House. On Thursday morning the Lord Great Chamberlain, at seven o'clock, carried to his Majesty his shirt and apparel, and with the Lord Chamberlain of the Household dressed his Majesty. His Majesty then breakfasted, and afterwards proceeded to his chamber, near the south entrance into Westminster Hall.

"We entered the Hall at twenty minutes past five o'clock, and a crowd of ladies, admitted by Peers' orders, and Peeresses, were then struggling for admittance.

"The first thing we observed on having entered the Hall was the canopy which was to be borne over the King by the Barons of the Cinque Ports. The canopy was yellow—of silk and gold embroidery, with short curtains of muslin spangled with gold. Eight bearers, having fixed the poles by which the canopy was supported, which were of steel (apparently), with silver knobs, bore it up and down the Hall to practise the mode of carrying it in procession. It was then deposited at the upper end of the side-table of the Hall, to the left of the Throne. The canopy was not very elegant in form, and did not seem very well calculated to add to the effect of the procession. But even at this early hour the appearance of the Hall, studded with groups of gentlemen pensioners, and various other attendants, in their fantastic and antique costumes, with the officers of the Guards, and others, in military uniform, and, above all, the elegantly dressed women who began to fill the galleries, was altogether superb. At this time there were several hundreds of spectators in the Hall.

"The sides of the upper end of the Hall, including the boxes for the Foreign Ministers and Royal Family, were hung with scarlet cloth, edged with gold.

"The Throne was splendid with gold and crimson: the canopy over the Throne was of crimson and gold, with the Royal Arms in embroidery. The large square table before the Throne, intended for the display of the Regalia, was of purple, having a rim of gold, and an interior square moulding of the same description about two feet from the edge. The platform on which the Throne was placed, and the three steps immediately descending from it, were covered with brown carpeting; the two other descending flights of steps, and the double chairs placed by the side of the tables for the Peers (with the names of their future occupiers), and the coverings of the railings in front of the seats were of marone cloth. From the bottom of the steps, descending from the Throne to the north gate, the middle of the floor of the Hall was covered with blue cloth, in the same manner as the platform without. The rest of the floor and the seats were matted. The side-tables were covered with green cloth; and as on each side the galleries reached nearly to the top of the windows in the wall, only the upper arches of those windows and the noble roof of the old fabric appeared, except at each end, the upper one especially, where the grave visages of the Saxon Kings, newly decorated, made their appearance. The light, which was only admitted from the roof windows[1] and from those in each end, though sober, was, on the whole, good. At the lower end the attendants of the Earl Marshal attracted some notice by their dark dresses, with white sashes, stockings, shoes with large rosettes, and Queen Elizabeth ruffs, with gilt staves tipped with black. At a quarter after seven o'clock an attendant, habited in the dress of Henri Quatre, laid on the table, near the canopy, eight maces to be borne in the course of the procession.

"Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester was the first of the Royal Family who arrived in the Hall, taking her seat in the Royal Box at a quarter before six. Her Royal Highness was splendidly attired in a rich dress of silver lama over French lilac; head-dress, a white satin hat with an elegant plume of white feathers, turned up with a diamond button and loop in front. Soon afterwards the Duchess of Clarence entered, and took her seat next to her Royal sister-in-law. About half-past seven their Royal Highnesses the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, and the Princess Feodore (daughter of the Duchess of Kent) took their seats in the Royal Box.

[1] The roof was repaired in 1819 and dormer windows inserted. The north window was completely renewed. For the Coronation a wooden floor was laid down. An Act was passed for the temporary removal of the Chancery and King's Bench Courts.

Their Royal Highnesses were attired in splendid dresses of white satin, richly embroidered in silver, with rich bandeau head-dresses and large plumes of white feathers.

"The Herb-women entered the Hall from the south end before eight o'clock. Miss Fellowes, the Principal Herb-woman, was led in by Mr. Fellowes: and the six young ladies, her assistants, followed two and two. They were afterwards seated at the north entrance of the Hall. They were elegantly dressed in white, tastefully decorated with flowers. Miss Fellowes wore, in addition to the same dress, a scarlet mantle. At eight o'clock three large baskets were brought into the Hall, filled with flowers, for them to bear. Of a very different description from these were some persons who were observed in various parts of the Hall. These were well-known prize-fighters, who were stationed from an idea of the necessity of keeping peace among the honourable and noble throng. We observed Cribb, Randall, Richmond, and we understood many others were present.

"The canopy was removed at eight o'clock from the side-table where it had been placed, and was brought into the middle of the Hall. The Barons of the Cinque Ports were then marshalled, two to each pole; they then bore the canopy down the Hall by way of practice, according to a word of command. Some laughter was at first excited by the irregular manner in which the bearers moved. Their dresses were, however, extremely splendid—large cloaks of Garter blue satin, with slashed arms of scarlet, and stockings of dead red, [doublets of crimson satin, and black velvet caps and shoes].

"Many Peers had been occasionally in the Hall at a very early hour in the morning, and before eight o'clock they had all arrived at the buildings near the House of Lords, and took their coronets and robes. The Archbishops and Bishops assembled about the same time, and vested themselves in their rochets in the House of Lords and chambers adjacent. The Judges and others of the Long Robe, together with the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Esquires of the Body, Serjeants at Law, Masters in Chancery, Aldermen of London, Chaplains having dignities and six Clerks in Chancery, being all in their proper habits, assembled at the places of which notice had been given, where officers of arms arranged them according to their respective classes, four in a rank, placing the youngest on the left, and then conducted them into the Hall.

"The King's Serjeants were in red gowns. The Masters in Chancery (nine of whom attended) were in the dress in which they attend the House of Lords.

"The Barons of the Cinque Ports took a second turn in the Hall. About this time also the four swords were brought in,

and deposited on the end of the left-hand table, with the spurs and a cushion for the Crown. The Knights of the Bath now began to assemble, and, with the others who were to take part in the procession, were ranged at the end of the Hall. The dresses of the Knights of the Bath were extremely splendid, but somewhat gaudy. The Knights had all close dresses of white satin, puckered in a variety of ways. The Grand Crosses wore flowing robes of pinkish-red satin, lined with white; the Commanders small mantles. The Judges and Privy Councillors, not being Peers, next entered; the latter in splendid dresses of blue velvet and gold.

"The Barons then entered. There were but forty-nine present. Next came the Bishops—fifteen attended; the Viscounts, nineteen in number. The Earls were more numerous — we should think seventy or eighty; but the Hall had now become so crowded that there was a difficulty in counting them accurately. The Marquesses and Dukes, and lastly the great officers of State, Archbishops, and members of the Royal Family, entered. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg was in the full robes of the Order of the Garter. The Princes of the Blood and some of the Dukes placed themselves on the right of the platform about the Throne. The Marquesses and some of the Earls on the left side formed a line with those who had descended to the floor of the Hall. The show of ermine and velvet on the descent of the platform was of the most magnificent description.

"A herald then went through the line of Peers, marshalling each according to the orders of their creation—the junior first. They were a second time called over, and ranged in a double file on each side of the middle space of the Hall by Mr. Mash.

"Before the King entered, the Peers were all ranged on each side of the Hall, none being left on the platform but the great officers of State and the Royal Family.

"Precisely at ten o'clock the King entered the Hall from the door behind the Throne, habited in robes of enormous size and richness, wearing a black hat with a monstrous plume of ostrich feathers, out of the midst of which rose a black heron's plume. His Majesty seemed very much oppressed with the weight of his robes. The train was of enormous length and breadth. It was of crimson velvet adorned with large golden stars, and a broad golden border. His Majesty frequently wiped his face while he remained seated. He went through the ceremonies which we have described with much spirit and apparent good humour. In descending the steps of the platform his Majesty seemed very feeble, and requested the aid and support of an officer who was near him. Instead of standing under the canopy, his Majesty, perhaps afraid of the awkwardness of the

Barons, preceded it. The canopy was therefore always borne after him. When his Majesty had got a little way down the Hall, he turned to his train-bearers, and requested them to bear his train further from him, apparently with a view to relieve himself from the weight. As he went down the Hall he conversed with much apparent cheerfulness with the Bishop of Lincoln, who was on his right hand."

In the same little book there is this further account of the Bringing-in of the Regalia and the order of the 1821 Liturgical Procession, the last which has taken place. The last Queen Consort's "Proceeding," that of 1761, is inserted in its proper place in square brackets :—

"His Majesty was, during the preliminary arrangements, in his chamber, near the south entrance into Westminster Hall.

"The Peers were then called over in the House of Lords by Deputy Garter, and proceeded to the Hall, where the other persons appointed to walk in the procession had been previously marshalled on the right and left by the officers of arms, leaving an open passage in the middle, so that the procession with the Regalia might pass uninterruptedly up the Hall.

"His Majesty, preceded by the great officers of State, entered the Hall a few minutes after ten, and took his seat in the Chair of State at the table, when a gun was fired. The Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, and the Deputy Earl Marshal ascended the steps, and placed themselves at the outer side of the table.

"The Lord High Steward, the great officers, Deputy Garter, and Black Rod arranged themselves near the Chair of State; the Royal train-bearers on each side of the Throne.

"The Lord Chamberlain, assisted by officers of the Jewel Office, then brought the Sword of State to the Lord High Constable, who delivered it to the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, by whom it was laid upon the table ; then Curtana, or the Sword of Mercy, with the two Swords of Justice, being in like manner presented, were drawn from their scabbards by the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, and laid on the table before his Majesty, after which the gold Spurs were delivered, and also placed on the table. Immediately after a procession, consisting of the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster, in their surplices and rich copes, proceeded up the Hall, from the lower end thereof, in manner following :—

PROCESSION WITH, AND DELIVERY OF, THE REGALIA.

Serjeant of the Vestry, in a scarlet mantle.
Children of the King's Chapel, in scarlet mantles, four abreast.
Children of the Choir of Westminster, in surplices, four abreast.
Gentlemen of the King's Chapel, in scarlet mantles, four abreast.
Choir of Westminster, in surplices, four abreast.
Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal.
Two Pursuivants of Arms.
Two Heralds.
The two provincial Kings of Arms.
The Dean of Westminster, carrying St. Edward's Crown on a cushion of cloth of gold.
First Prebendary of Westminster, carrying the Orb.
Second Prebendary, carrying the Sceptre with the Dove.
Third Prebendary, carrying the Sceptre with the Cross.
Fourth Prebendary, carrying St. Edward's Staff.
Fifth Prebendary, carrying the Chalice and Patina.
Sixth Prebendary, carrying the Bible.

"In this procession they made their reverences, first at the lower end of the Hall, secondly about the middle, where both the Choirs opening to the right and left [? made] a passage, through which the officers of arms passing opened likewise on each side, the seniors placing themselves nearest towards the steps; then the Dean and Prebendaries, having come to the front of the steps, made their third reverence. This being done, the Dean and Prebendaries being come to the foot of the steps, Deputy Garter preceding them (he having waited their coming there), ascended the steps, and, approaching near the table before the King, made their reverence. The Dean then presented the Crown to the Lord High Constable, who delivered it to the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, and it was by him placed on the table before the King. The rest of the Regalia was severally delivered by each Prebendary, on his knee, to the Dean, by him to the Lord High Constable, by him to the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, and by him laid on the table. The Regalia being thus delivered, the Prebendaries and Dean returned to the middle of the Hall. His Majesty having commanded Deputy Garter to summon the noblemen and Bishops who were to bear the Regalia, the Deputy Lord Great

Chamberlain, then taking up the several Swords, Sceptres, the Orb, and Crown, placed them in the hands of those by whom they were to be carried.

I. St. Edward's Staff, by the Marquess of Salisbury.
II. The Spurs, by Lord Calthorpe, as deputy to the Baroness Grey de Ruthyn.
III. The Sceptre with the Cross, by the Marquess Wellesley.
IV. The pointed Sword of Temporal Justice, by the Earl of Galloway.
V. The pointed Sword of Spiritual Justice, by the Duke of Northumberland.
VI. Curtana, or Sword of Mercy, by the Duke of Newcastle.
VII. The Sword of State, by the Duke of Dorset.
VIII. The Sceptre with the Dove, by the Duke of Rutland.
IX. The Orb, by the Duke of Devonshire.
X. St. Edward's Crown, by the Marquess of Anglesey, as Lord High Steward.
XI. The Patina, by the Bishop of Gloucester.
XII. The Chalice, by the Bishop of Chester.
XIII. The Bible, by the Bishop of Ely.

"The two Bishops who are to support his Majesty were then summoned by Deputy Garter, and, ascending the steps, placed themselves on each side of the King.

"PROCESSION TO THE ABBEY.

"The second gun was then fired, and the procession moved upon the blue cloth spread on the platform from the Throne in Westminster Hall to the great steps in the Abbey Church ; the following anthem, 'O Lord, grant the King a long life,' etc., being sung in parts, in succession, with his Majesty's band playing, the sounding of trumpets, and the beating of drums, until the arrival in the Abbey.

ORDER.

The King's Herb-woman with her six Maids, strewing the way with herbs.

Messenger of the College of Arms, in a scarlet cloak, with the arms of the College embroidered on the left shoulder.

The Dean's Beadle of Westminster, with his staff.

The High Constable of Westminster, with his staff, in a scarlet cloak.

Two Household Fifes with banners of velvet fringed with gold, and five Household Drummers in Royal livery, drum-covers of crimson velvet, laced and fringed with gold.

The Drum-Major, in a rich livery, and a crimson scarf fringed with gold.

Eight Trumpets in rich liveries of crimson velvet : banners of crimson damask, embroidered and fringed with gold, to the silver trumpets.

Kettle-Drums, drum covers of crimson damask, embroidered and fringed with gold.

Eight Trumpets in liveries, as before.

Serjeant Trumpeter, with his mace and collar of SS.

The Knight Marshal, attended by his Officers.

The Six Clerks in Chancery, in gowns of black flowered satin.

The King's Chaplains having dignities, in scarlet habits.

The Sheriffs of London.

The Alderman and Recorder of London, in scarlet gowns.

Masters in Chancery, in black figured silk gowns.

The King's Serjeants at Law, in scarlet gowns.

The King's Ancient Serjeant, in scarlet robe.

The King's Solicitor-General. The King's Attorney-General.

(In gowns of black velvet.)

Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.

Serjeant of the Vestry of the Chapel Royal. Serjeant Porter.

(In scarlet robes.)

Children of the Choir of Westminster, in surplices.

Children of the Chapel Royal, in surplices, with scarlet mantles over them.

Choir of Westminster, in surplices.

Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, in scarlet mantles.

Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, in scarlet gown.

Prebendaries of Westminster, in surplices and rich copes.

The Dean of Westminster, in a surplice and rich cope.

Pursuivants of Scotland and Ireland, in their tabards.

His Majesty's Band.

Officers attendant on the Knights Commanders of the Bath, in their mantles, chains, and badges.

Knights Grand Crosses of the Bath (not Peers) in the full habit of their Order, caps in their hands.

A Pursuivant of Arms, in his tabard.

Barons of the Exchequer and Justices of both Benches.

The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The Vice-Chancellor. The Master of the Rolls.

The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

(All in full State robes.)

The Clerks of the Council in Ordinary.

Privy Councillors, not Peers.

Register of the Order of the Garter.

Knights of the Garter (not Peers), in the full habit and collar of the Order, caps in their hands.

His Majesty's Vice-Chamberlain.

Comptroller of his Majesty's Household.

Treasurer of his Majesty's Household, bearing the crimson bag with the medals.

A Pursuivant of Arms, in his tabard.

Heralds of Scotland and Ireland, in their tabards and collars of SS.

The Standard of Hanover, borne by the Earl of Mayo.

[Baronesses, in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.]

Barons, in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

A Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS.

The Standard of Ireland, borne by Lord Beresford.

The Standard of Scotland, borne by the Earl of Lauderdale.

The Bishops of England and Ireland, in their rochets, with their caps in their hands.

Two Heralds, in their tabards and collars of SS.

[Viscountesses, etc.]

Viscounts, in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Two Heralds, in their tabards and collars of SS.

The Standard of England, borne by Lord Hill.

[Countesses, etc.]

Earls, in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Two Heralds, in their tabards and collars of SS.

The Union Standard, borne by Earl Harcourt.

[Marchionesses, etc.]

Marquesses, in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hand.

The Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, in his robes of estate, his coronet in his hand, attended by an officer of the Jewel Office in a scarlet mantle, with a crown embroidered on his left shoulder, bearing a cushion, on which are placed the Ruby Ring and the Sword to be girt about the King.

The Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, in his robes of estate, his coronet in his hand.

The Royal Standard, borne by the Earl of Harrington.

King of Arms of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, in his tabard, crown in his hand.

Gloucester King of Arms, in his tabard, crown in his hand.

Hanover King of Arms, in his tabard, crown in his hand.

[Duchesses, etc.]

Dukes, in their robes of estate, their coronets in their hands.

Ulster King of Arms, in his tabard, crown in his hand. | Clarenceux King of Arms, in his tabard, crown in his hand. | Norroy King of Arms, in his tabard, crown in his hand.

The Lord Privy Seal, in his robes of estate, coronet in his hand. | The Lord President of the Council, in his robes of estate, coronet in his hand.

Archbishops of Ireland.

The Archbishop of York, in his rochet, cap in hand.

The Lord High Chancellor, in his robes of estate, with his coronet in his hand, bearing his purse, and attended by his Purse-bearer.

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, in his rochet, cap in his hand.

Two Serjeants at Arms.

[Two Gentlemen representing the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy.]

[The Queen's Vice-Chamberlain (Lord Viscount Cantalupe).

Two Gentlemen Ushers.

The Ivory Rod with the Dove, borne by the Earl of Northampton, in his robes of estate. | The Queen's Lord Chamberlain (Duke of Manchester), in his robes, with his coronet and staff in his hands. | The Sceptre with the Cross, borne by the Duke of Rutland, in his robes of estate.

Two Serjeants at Arms, with their gilt collars and maces. | The Queen's Crown, borne by the Duke of Bolton, in his robes of estate. | Two Serjeants at Arms, with their gilt collars and maces.

Gentlemen Pensioners carrying their gilt Axes.

A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy. | Dr. Thomas Hayter, Lord Bishop of Norwich, in his rochet, supporter to the Queen. | THE QUEEN, in her Royal Robes of Crimson Velvet; on her | Dr. John Thomas, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in his rochet, supporter to the Queen. | A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy.

A Baron, do. | head a circlet of Gold, adorned with Jewels; going under a Canopy of | A Baron, do.

A Baron, do. | Cloth of Gold; her Train borne by Her Royal | A Baron, do.

A Baron, do. | Highness the Princess Augusta, in her robes of | A Baron, do.

A Baron, do. | Estate, assisted by Six Earls' daughters. | A Baron, do.

A Baron, do. | Lady Jane Steuart. Lady Elizabeth Montague. Lady Mary Grey. | Lady Mary Douglas. Lady Heneage Finch. Lady Selina Hastings. | A Baron, do.

A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy. | A Baron of the Cinque Ports, supporting the Canopy.

Gentlemen Pensioners carrying their gilt Axes.

THE PRINCESS AUGUSTA,
her coronet borne by the Marquess of Carnarvon.
Duchess of Ancaster, Mistress of the Robes.
Two Women of her Majesty's Bedchamber.]

THE REGALIA.

St. Edward's Staff, borne by the Marquess of Salisbury.	The Gold Spurs, borne by the Lord Calthorpe.	The Sceptre with the Cross, borne by the Marquess Wellesley.
The third Sword, borne by the Earl of Galloway.	Curtana, borne by the Duke of Newcastle.	The pointed Sword, borne by the Duke of Northumberland.

Two Serjeants at Arms.

Usher of the Green Rod. Usher of the White Rod.

The Lord Mayor of London in his gown, collar, and jewel, bearing the City mace.	The Lord Lyon of Scotland, in his tabard, carrying his crown and sceptre.	Garter Principal King of Arms, in his tabard, bearing his crown and sceptre.	Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, bearing his rod.

The Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain of England, in his robes of estate, his coronet and his white staff in his hand.

His Royal Highness the Prince Leopold, in the full habit of the Order of the Garter, carrying, in his right hand, his baton as Field-Marshal, and, in his left, his cap and feathers; his train borne by a Page.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, in his robes of estate, carrying, in his right hand, his baton as Field-Marshal, and in his left his coronet; his train borne by a Page.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, in his robes of estate, carrying, in his right hand, his baton as Field-Marshal, and his coronet in his left; and his train borne by a Page.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, in his robes of estate, with his coronet in his hand; and his train borne by a Page.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, in his robes of estate, with his coronet in his hand; and his train borne by a Page.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, in his robes of estate, carrying, in his right hand, his baton as Field-Marshal, and his coronet in his left; and his train borne by a Page.

The High Constable of Ireland, in his robes, coronet in his hand, with his staff.	The High Constable of Scotland, in his robes, coronet in his hand, with his staff.

Two Serjeants at Arms.

The Deputy Earl Marshal, with his staff.

The Sword of State, borne by the Duke of Dorset.

The Lord High Constable of England, in his robes, his coronet in his hand, with his staff; attended by a Page carrying his baton of Field-Marshal.

Two Sergeants at Arms.

A Gentleman carrying the Staff of the Lord High Steward.

The Sceptre with the Dove, carried by the Duke of Rutland.

St. Edward's Crown, carried by the Lord High Steward in his robes.

The Orb, carried by the Duke of Devonshire.

A Gentleman carrying the Coronet of the Lord High Steward.

The Patina, borne by the Bishop of Gloucester.

The Bible, borne by the Bishop of Ely.

The Chalice, borne by the Bishop of Chester.

THE KING.

Twenty Gentlemen Pensioners, with the Standard Bearer.

Supporter: Lord Bishop of Oxford, for the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.

In the Royal Robes, wearing a cap of estate, adorned with jewels, under a canopy of cloth of gold, borne by Sixteen Barons of the Cinque Ports. His Majesty's Train borne by Eight Eldest Sons of Peers, assisted by the Master of the Robes, and followed by the Groom of the Robes.

Supporter: Lord Bishop of Lincoln, for the Lord Bishop of Durham.

Twenty Gentlemen Pensioners, with the Lieutenant.

Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, in his robes of estate; coronet in his hand.

Gold Stick of the Life Guards in Waiting, in his robes; coronet in his hand.

Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, in his robes of estate; coronet in his hand.

Lords of the Bedchamber.

The Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse.

Grooms of the King's Bedchamber.

Equerries and Pages of Honour.

Aides-de-Camp.

Gentlemen Ushers.

Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries.

Ensign of the Yeomen of the Guard. Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard.

His Majesty's Pages in full State Liveries.

His Majesty's Footmen in full State Liveries.

Exons of the Yeomen of the Guard. Yeoman of the Guard. Exons of the Yeomen of the Guard.

Gentleman Harbinger of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

Clerk of the Cheque to the Yeomen of the Guard. Clerk of the Cheque to the Gentlemen Pensioners.

Yeomen of the Guard, to close the Procession.

"On the arrival of the procession at the Abbey, the Herb-woman and her Maids, and the Serjeant Porter, remained at the entrance within the great west door."

Coronations have fallen on diminished days. But among features recently disused, it is the great Liturgical Procession, with its solemn and religious magnificence, which can least be spared. It had varied hardly at all for a thousand years. "Let him be conducted to the church with sound of trumpets and with chanting," says King Stephen's Order. Such a detail, *e.g.*, as the carrying the Bible in the "proceeding" answers to the carrying of the Holy Gospels in *Liber Regalis*—"cum textibus et thuribulis." The latter feature remained till the nineteenth century—"the Groom of the Vestry in a scarlet robe with a Perfuming Pan in his hand, burning Perfumes all the way from Westminster Hall to the Quire-door of the Church." He is shown in Sandford's large plate (1685) and in the prints of George III.'s Coronation.[1] Evelyn mentions the "perfume burnt before the office began" in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, at Easter, 1684. Ten years ago the Bishop of Peterborough in a Charge (*Guardian*, June 26, 1901) remarked that "it would not seem unlikely that at the King's Coronation service in Westminster Abbey in 1902 incense will be used. And thus we may take a step

[1] See Richard Thomson's *Processions and Ceremonies, etc.*, 1820, and Bailey's *The Coronation*, 1821. The thurifer is mentioned also at George II.'s Coronation. In Sancroft's Form of Dedication, etc., of a Church (1685), there is a form for consecrating a censer.

towards the future legalizing for general use of a symbolic and Scriptural ceremonial act which only superstitious abuse has excluded from the services of our Church, and which many will rejoice to see legally restored." The Bishop had already quoted the observation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the effect that "It would always be possible, if some great occasion made it suitable, for the Sovereign, with the advice of the Primate, to order a great ceremony in which the use of incense should form a part"—viz., under Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity; but the expectation thus aroused was not fulfilled.

On the other hand, holy water and portable lights (golden "candelabra") disappeared in the time of James I. from the procession and the service—these were also a feature of episcopal consecrations. The relics formerly preserved in St. Edward's Chapel were destroyed earlier. When Henry VI. was to be crowned, "all the prelattes wente on procession berynge eche of them a relyk of dyuerse sayntes."

It was to be "cum ordinata processione et cantu glorioso"—"psallendo antecedentes." For James II., as for George IV., *O Lord, grant the King*, etc., was sung; for Elizabeth, *Salve festa dies*. *Firmetus manus* is prescribed in the Ethelred Ordo, but this was in later ages sung in church. Charles I.'s procession went "singing all the way."

The King's Herb-woman with her Six Maids.—This pretty office was a post eagerly coveted. Miss Fellowes was sister to the Great Chamberlain's secretary. In 1685 we read of "Mary Dowle, Strewer of Herbs in Ordinary to His Majesty." There were nine large baskets of sweet simples and flowers, each basket carried by two maids. Sandford portrays them.

> "O the rose, the gentle rose,
> And the fennel all so green;
> God grant us grace in every place
> To pray for our King and our Queen,"

says the old carol with charming inconsequence. In the St. Margaret's Westminster accompts for 1650 is a payment for "herbs strewed in the church upon a day of thanksgiving."

With the Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal walked formerly the Confessor of the Household. Bishop Andrewes refers to this ecclesiastic, and in Chamberlayne's *Present State of England* (1677) there is an account of his duties. There is a picture of him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1761, and he appears in *The Coronation; Ceremonies to be Observed at the Ensuing Coronation*, published by J. Bailey in 1821, though he is not named in the official Order of Proceedings. The office was somewhat surreptitiously altered to "Chaplain of the Household" in 1859, on the death of Dr. Charles Wesley, in consequence of the agitation against auricular confession. In 1685 he is described as "Stephen Crespion, Clerk, Confessor to the King's Household, Chanter of the Choir of Westminster and a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, in a Scarlet Mantle and Surplice."

In 1831 the Gentlemen Pensioners wore modern uniform instead of Tudor costume. Privy Councillors at George III.'s Coronation wore Court dress, but at George IV.'s the dress of Elizabeth's time.

The Platform.—About 500 yards to the Church door, and 30 or 40 yards to the Quire door. It was 24 feet broad, and 4 feet in height. At the sides were lower platforms, on which the Foot Guards stood. In 1761 the spectators were surprised to see officers conversing familiarly with common soldiers. It appeared that many of these were gentlemen who had paid for the privilege of acting the part.

The Navy had hitherto only been recognised in the procession by the King's Watermen. The *Annual Register* for 1761 says: "A number of sailors, all clean dressed, came to the platform and insisted on standing there to see the procession, which had like to have occasioned a quarrel between them and the soldiers; but the

commanding officer, to prevent a disturbance, ordered that they should remain there, provided they would be quiet; which they punctually complied with. But when the King passed by they could contain themselves no longer. The boatswain began with his call, and the sailors gave three loud cheers, with which his Majesty appeared highly delighted."

The seamen (as at Queen Victoria's funeral) proved themselves handy. A blue awning, on ornamental poles, and drawn together by crimson cords, had been contracted for for £500. The weather had been wet, but turned out fine, and as this roof would have obstructed the view of the richly-dressed spectators in the windows near, it was ordered to be rolled up. Whereupon "an honest Jack Tar climbed up to the top and stripped it off in a minute or two, whereas the persons appointed for the service might have been an hour about it." To each cord was assigned a man in a becoming dress. These attendants bore staves, and were empowered to act as constables. A number of others, similarly liveried, were placed at intervals with hammers, pincers, and other appliances for repairing any damage to the platform.

The processional platform had been for centuries covered with blue ray cloth. The part within the church is the perquisite of the Dean and Chapter, formerly of the Sacrist. The part outside was to be distributed to the poor by the High Almoner. But in 1509 we read: "Their Highnesses went to Westminster Abbey upon cloth, vulgarly called cloth of ray, the whiche cloth was cut and spoyled by the rude and common people immediately after their repaire into the abbey."

On either side of the platform speculators had been allowed to erect vast draped "theatres," seats in which were let at enormous prices. In 1761 a ground-rent had been paid of from three to five guineas a square foot. Window-places also fetched large sums; one room for a gentleman and lady cost 140 guineas; one small house,

after paying for scaffolding, cleared £700. A note in the *Annual Register* (1761, p. 215) mentions that the price of a good place at Edward II.'s and Edward III.'s Coronation was a halfpenny; at Richard II.'s and Henry IV.'s a penny; at Henry V.'s, a half-groat (twopence). But Coronations became so frequent that the price went back to almost nothing. From Edward IV., however, to Henry VII. a half-groat seems to have been the fee. It rose at the next three Coronations to a groat; at Elizabeth's to a tester; at James I.'s and Charles I.'s (when, owing to the pest, the coming of sightseers from London was forbidden) to a shilling; at Charles II.'s and James II.'s to half-a-crown; at the next three Coronations to a crown; and to see George II. crowned some gave half a guinea. In 1821 even the trees in St Margaret's churchyard (the rights over which were fiercely disputed) brought a handsome sum to the overseers.

The whole of the Abbey nave was let in 1821 by the Dean and Chapter to one Glanville! The seats were not all occupied then or in 1831. At George III.'s Coronation, for the front seats in the nave galleries ten guineas was paid, which seems a moderate sum; but the nave congregation, though they hear the music, can see nothing of the Coronation itself, except from the triforium. The *Annual Register* of 1821 records that all the monuments were boarded up, and that the great galleries were erected without a single hook or nail being driven into the fabrick. But the risk from fire is appalling. The space east of the Choir screen has always passed under the temporary jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal, and the Chapter's claim to control part of it has been more than once disallowed. Since 1848 the capitular control over the nave has also been surrendered, and all the arrangements, from floor to "nunneries," made by the Earl Marshal. The old organ was in 1821 removed from the loft, which was reserved for the quaintly-attired trumpeters and musicians, and there

was accommodation inside the Choir for 4000 persons. Each person was allowed 22 inches, and every box had a lock and key. In either of the transepts were thirty-seven tiers of benches. Galleries on either side of the eastern portion of the Sanctuary overlooked the Altar. The upholstering of the church was handed over to a firm of undertakers, whose preparations in the Sacrarium, however, were described in the *Annual Register* as "magnificent." The Altar, which had a gradine or shelf, and exhibited according to ancient usage the most splendid pieces of gold plate, was covered with a rich carpet of blue and gold brocade, the antependium being of gold lace, and gold lace at the bottom and sides. Behind rose a dossal of blue and gold brocade, "clipped on each side with golden palm branches, which rose from the floor to the height of 12 feet, and then gradually spread till they became intermingled with the drapery above." Here, over the Altar, was the Musick Gallery, with seats for spectators. A contemporary picture shows the Altar candles lighted. There seem to have been twenty-eight lighted tapers on the Altar when William and Mary were crowned, and eight behind it."[1]

Refreshments were on sale. "There was cakes and apples in all the chapels," to quote Mr. Maguire. It has to be remembered, however, that the Abbey doors opened at four o'clock, those of Westminster Hall at three. Many of the attendants passed the night there. Horace Walpole writes in his lively way of the 1761 Coronation: "Some of the peeresses were dressed overnight, slept in arm-chairs, and were waked if they tumbled their heads." George III., Queen Charlotte, and the Princess Dowager, were conveyed across the Park privately in their chairs at 9 A.M. No coaches, except those of peers and peeresses, were allowed to pass after seven o'clock, and none at all after

[1] See "The English Altar and its Surroundings," by J. N. Comper, in Dr. W. Legg's *Some Principles of the Prayer Book* (1899).

nine. George IV. slept at the Speaker's. (The King's Vigil was of old kept always at Westminster.) The King was "ready before anybody else" (Croker), and "even after he had put on his robes and his hat, most cumbrous and heavy, he had to wait full half-an-hour for the Great Chamberlain, Lord Gwydir, who, it seems, had torn his robes and was obliged to have them mended."

Croker wrote afterwards to Peel:—

"You can have no idea of the splendour of the pageant, or of the good order and good luck which accompanied the ceremony. . . . Lord Gwydir had much to do, and yet did it pretty well. One little mortification he suffered. He *abused*, some say struck with his wand, one of the heralds for some supposed breach of duty. The herald, with great good sense, took the blow as a mere mistake, and said: 'My lord, you do not know our functions, characters, or duties. We are not servants. My family were gentlemen five hundred years before a Burrell was heard of.'"[1]

In 1831 forty private gentlemen acted as pages to the Earl Marshal, and all the nobility were at one time allowed to bring a retinue of pages.

George III.'s procession started just before noon, and the King and Queen entered the Quire at half-past one. Mrs. Montagu, an eye-witness, says: "His countenance expressed a benevolent joy in the vast concourse of people and their loud acclamations, but there was not the least air of pride or insolent exultation."[2] William IV. was punctual to the stroke of eleven. "A grand procession, a fine day, an immense crowd, and great acclamations," writes Greville. "The Coronation went off well, and whereas nobody was satisfied before it, everybody was after it."

Before George III.'s Coronation there was threatened a strike of chairmen and hackney coachmen. The

[1] Yet the Willoughby de Eresby barony dates from 1313. That Lord Gwydyr's grandson, the late Lord, was present at the Coronations of 1831, 1838, and 1902. The now venerable Earl Nelson attended William IV.'s obsequies as a peer of the realm.

[2] *Letters*, vol. iv. pp. 367, 368.

Council ordered them to be out by 4 A.M. and perform their duties. Finally they threw themselves on the generosity of the public, and few fares grudged a guinea that day. Indeed, most people had to walk, even from the country. People gave sixpence for a glass of water and a shilling for a roll. There were ample preparations made at the hospitals and at the barracks. Elaborate precautions have always been taken against the vast piles of woodwork, both inside and outside the Abbey, catching fire, and a plentiful supply of water provided. In 1761 the Earl Marshal forbade fireworks or bonfires in any part of Westminster for seven days after the Coronation.

The procession on that occasion was preceded by that of the Princess Dowager of Wales, which was closed by "three Mahometan Ambassadors in the proper dress of their country, having their turbans of fine muslin on their heads, and long gowns of flowered and laced silk; their scabbards were crimson, and in each of them was enclosed a dagger and a poniard."

James II. directed that his procession should go four abreast "for the greater glory of the solemnity," and that his Consort should go even with him, except where the space was too narrow. Mary Tudor, like Edward VI., was met by three silver crosses and eighty singing men, "all in rich and gorgeous copes," and by ten Bishops in mitre and cope, and bearing "crosier-staves."

Who is the Hereditary Standard-bearer of England? Ralph de Toeni's right was acknowledged at Hastings, and his representative (Mr. Falconer Madan points out to me) is Sir Robert Gresley, of Drakelowe, eleventh baronet. But in 1902 the Standard was borne by Mr. Francis Dymoke, the present Champion.

The rich canopies or baldachins carried by silver "hastæ" over the King and Queen have been disused since 1821, although they were borne formerly not only in the open air, but as far as the Quire door. They lend dignity and reverence to a royal procession. The Cinque

Ports have again petitioned to be allowed to perform this honourable office in 1911. It is said to have been granted to them by King John on condition of their providing vessels for his passage to Normandy. But an "umbraculum sericum" was carried over Richard I., and doubtless earlier, by four earls. When the German emperors rode to their consecration, the canopy, embroidered with the double-headed eagle, was borne over them by twelve senators of Frankfort, also on horseback. The baldacchino used for Russian Coronations is supported by sixteen commanding officers. Hastings has always been assigned the right-hand foremost "spear," in token of precedence. When the King has received his crown, the barons or "guardians" of the Five Ports put on their caps. An interesting pamphlet has been written about this "sergeantry" by Mr. Charles Dawson, F.S.A. Since James II.'s Coronation, when there were separate canopies for the King and Queen, the sixteen barons have become thirty-two. At the Coronation of William and Mary they claimed double fees, but in vain.

The old Orders direct that St. Edward's Chalice is to be borne in the Procession by the Lord Chancellor, and the Paten by the Lord Treasurer, if they be Bishops.

In Charles I.'s procession "the Lord Mayor of *London* carried the shorter Scepter." He wore a magnificent dress. The Corporation until William IV. came to Westminster in State barges. In 1902 the Lord Mayor drove in his State chariot with six horses. He did not attend the 1831 or 1838 Coronations.

In 1626 the Archbishops and Bishops, "then present with the Church and Quire of Westminster," should have gone "to meet the King at the Palace gate in Procession-wise," but owing to Archbishop Abbot's gout the Bishops only walked from Westminster Hall to the Church.

The new Council of Westminster lodged a claim in 1902 to lead the Procession.

The following is the form of Summons directed to a nobleman :—

"GEORGE R.

"Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, We greet You well. Whereas We have appointed the Twenty-second day of June next for the Solemnity of Our Royal Coronation, These are therefore to will and command You, all Excuses set apart, that You make Your Personal Attendance on Us, at the Time above mentioned, furnished and appointed as to Your Rank and Quality appertaineth, there to do and perform such Services as shall be required and belong to You. And whereas We have also resolved that the Coronation of Our Royal Consort the QUEEN shall be solemnized on the same Day: We do further hereby require the [Countess] Your Wife to make her Personal Attendance on Our said Royal Consort at the Time and in the Manner aforesaid. Whereof You and She are not to fail. And so We bid You heartily Farewell. Given at our Court, etc."

EXCURSUS E

THE BANQUET AND FEUDAL SERVICES

When the Service in the Abbey is over, our Kings, till 1831, returned "with great glory," accompanied by all the chief estates of the realm as before, to the Palace of Westminster. The King and Queen were now crowned, robed and sceptred. The peers and peeresses wore their coronets. The *Annual Register* records, however, that while George IV. was in St. Edward's Chapel—not more than ten minutes — the Abbey became nearly deserted, the congregation having hurried off to be spectators of the Banquet, or at least of the returning Procession, and the King and his officers and nobles marched in state along the broad platform down the Nave between almost empty benches.

The following account of the last Banquet held—viz., George IV.'s—is taken from *Coronation Anecdotes*, 1823 :

"At about twenty minutes to four the gates of the Hall were thrown open to admit the procession on its return.

"The cheering in the Hall on the King's approach was neither so spontaneous nor enthusiastic as it was along the line of march ;[1] as far as we could see, it originated generally with some of the choristers employed to sing the various portions of the ceremonial.

[1] The *Traveller*, however, describing the Procession to the Abbey, says: "There was a mixed *tumult* all the way, though not very loud. The applause sometimes predominated, sometimes the groaning and hissing." Most of the spectators were apathetic. In 1831 much more enthusiasm was shown, and the joyful acclaims of the multitude were heard in the church. "Combined," says one of the congregation, "with the pealing organ, the roar of guns, the clang of military music and the firing of bells, they gave rise to feelings difficult to suppress."

"Viewed from the upper end of the Hall through the arched way, the appearance of the white plumes of the Knights of the Bath was most magnificent. On their entrance to the Hall, the Knights took off their hats, but the Peers continued to wear their coronets.

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"As the procession entered the Hall, the fifes, drums, and trumpets went to their gallery, and the several other persons composing it were directed to their respective places by the officers of arms.

"On entering the Hall, the Barons of the Cinque Ports, bearing the canopy, remained at the bottom of the steps. His Majesty ascended the elevated platform and retired in his chamber near the State.

"The company at the table then sat down, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports carried away the canopy as their fee.

"It is mentioned above that the several Orders of Knighthood returned wearing their hats. This was the case until they got to the entrance of Westminster Hall. There all the Knights of the Bath took off their hats, as did some of the Bishops and several other individuals who took part in the procession. There were only two Knights of the Garter who appeared in the full dress of the Order. These were his Royal Highness the Prince Leopold and the Marquess of Londonderry. The noble Marquess, as attired in his robes, added very considerably to the splendour of the scene by his graceful and elegant appearance. His Lordship's hat was encircled with a band of diamonds, which had a most brilliant effect. As his Majesty passed up the Hall, he was received with loud and continued acclamations, the gentlemen waving their hats, and the ladies their handkerchiefs; his Majesty seemed to feel sensibly the enthusiasm with which he was greeted, and returned the salutations with repeated bows to the assemblage on both sides. The Peers took their seats at the table appointed for them, and began to partake of the banquet. During the interval between this and the return of his Majesty, the greater part of the ladies and gentlemen who had previously occupied the galleries retired for refreshments, or descended into the Hall, which they promenaded for a considerable time. There were also a great number of persons admitted into the Hall, who it was evident had not been in before. This occasioned some slight inconvenience to those whose duty obliged them to be present. We ought here to remark that the procession, on its return to the Hall, was not conducted with anything like the same regularity which had distinguished its departure. This was probably owing to the great fatigue which all the parties had undergone,

and to their consequent anxiety to get to their seats. Some slight derangement was occasioned by the Aldermen, who, either from the cause just mentioned, or from a mistake with respect to the regulations of the Heralds, had no sooner got within the triumphal arch than they walked over to one of the tables, leaving several of those behind who ought to have preceded them. This trifling mistake was soon corrected by one of the Heralds, who brought the worthy magistrates back to their former station in the procession.

"THE BANQUET

"Precisely at twenty minutes past five the Lord Great Chamberlain issued his orders that the centre of the Hall should be cleared. This direction occasioned much confusion, not only because many strangers had been allowed to enter the lower doors for the purpose of surveying the general arrangements, but because those who had tickets for the galleries had descended in considerable numbers to the floor. Lord Gwydyr was under the necessity of personally exerting his authority, with considerable vehemence, in order to compel the attendants of the Earl Marshal to quit situations intended for persons more immediately connected with the ceremony. A long interval now occurred, during which the various officers, and especially the Heralds, made the necessary arrangements for the nobility expected to return with his Majesty. During this pause silence was generally preserved, in expectation of the return of his Majesty from his chamber.

"The entrance of the King was announced by one of the principal Heralds, who was followed into the Hall by the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Dukes of York, Clarence, Cambridge, Sussex, and Gloucester. Prince Leopold had for some time previously been engaged in conversation with some of the Foreign Ambassadors.

"His Majesty returned in the robes with which he had been invested in the Abbey, wearing also the same crown. In his right hand he carried the Sceptre, and in his left the Orb, which, on taking his seat on the Throne, he delivered to two Peers stationed at his side for the purpose of receiving them.

"The first course was then served up. It consisted of 24 gold covers and dishes, carried by as many Gentlemen Pensioners; they were preceded by six attendants on the Clerk Comptroller, by two Clerks of the Kitchen, who received the dishes from the Gentlemen Pensioners, by the Clerk Comptroller, in a velvet gown trimmed with silver lace, by two Clerks and the Secretary of the Board of Green Cloth, by the Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household, and Serjeants at Arms with their maces.

"Before the dishes were placed upon the table by the two Clerks of the Kitchen, the great doors at the bottom of the Hall were thrown open to the sound of trumpets and clarionets, and the Duke of Wellington, as Lord High Constable, the Marquess of Anglesey, as Lord High Steward, and Lord Howard of Effingham, as Deputy Earl Marshal, entered upon the floor on horseback, remaining for some minutes under the archway. The Duke of Wellington was on the left of the King, the Earl Marshal on the right, and the Marquess of Anglesey in the centre. The two former were mounted on beautiful white horses gorgeously trapped, and the latter on his favourite dun-coloured Arabian.

"THE CHALLENGE

"Before the second course, the great gate was thrown open at the sound of trumpets without. The Deputy appointed to officiate as King's Champion for the Lord of the Manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, entered the Hall on horseback, in a complete suit of bright armour, between the Lord High Constable and Deputy Earl Marshal, also on horseback, preceded by—

Two Trumpeters, with the Champion's Arms on their banners.

The Serjeant Trumpeter, with his mace on his shoulder.

Two Serjeants at Arms, with their maces on their shoulders.

The Champion's two Esquires, in half-armour, one on the right hand bearing the Champion's lance, the other on the left hand with the Champion's target, and the Arms of Dymoke depicted thereon.

A Herald, with a paper in his hand containing the Challenge.

"Then followed:

The Deputy Earl Marshal, on horseback, in his robes and coronet, with the Earl Marshal's staff in his hand, attended by a Page.	The CHAMPION, on horseback, in a complete suit of bright armour, with a gauntlet in his hand, his helmet on his head, adorned with a plume of feathers.	The Lord High Constable, in his robes and coronet, and collar of his Order, on horseback, with the Constable's staff, attended by two Pages.

Four Pages, richly apparelled, attendants on the Champion.

"His helmet was of polished steel, surmounted by a full rich bending plume of white ostrich feathers, next of light blue, next red, and lastly of an erect black feather. He seemed rather

pale in the face, which was of a resolute cast, and ornamented with handsome mustachios. He sat his horse with ease, and the appearance of great firmness, which was no doubt in part attributable to the enormous weight under which the noble animal that bore him seemed to bend. His armour was extremely massive, and deeply lined and engraven; no part of his body was uncovered, and even the broad circular shoulder-blades of the armour were so folded over the cuirass that in action the body could not but be completely defended at all points. The horse was very richly caparisoned, and wore in his headstall a plume of varied feathers. Nothing could exceed the impression produced by the approach of the Champion and his loyal array. Every fair bosom felt an indescribable sensation of mingled surprise, pleasure, and apprehension. It seemed as if they were impressed with a conviction that the defiance might not prove an empty ceremony ; that a trial as severe as that of Ivanhoe, in the presence of his future Sovereign at Ashby, might await the Challenger ; and that the nobly equipped Champion before them might, nevertheless, be as little elated by his success, or as faint and feeble when he fell at the feet of sympathising beauty to claim the hard-earned meed of glory. For a moment the fast-fading spirit of chivalry reasserted itself within those walls, over minds which the place and occasion had rendered vividly susceptible of impressions connected with the records of our earlier history.

"At the entrance into the Hall the trumpets sounded thrice, and the passage to the King's table being cleared by the Knight Marshal, the Herald, with a loud voice, proclaimed the Champion's challenge in the words following :—

"'If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Fourth of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Son and next Heir to our Sovereign Lord King GEORGE the Third, the last King, deceased, to be right Heir to the Imperial Crown of this United Kingdom, or that he ought not to enjoy the same, here is his Champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor, being ready in person to combat with him, and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him on what day soever he shall be appointed.'

"The Champion then threw down his iron glove or gauntlet, which, having lain for a short time upon the ground, the Herald took up, and delivered again to the Champion.

"They then advanced to the middle of the Hall, where the ceremony was again performed in the same manner.

"Lastly, they advanced to the steps of the Throne, where the Herald (and those who preceded him), ascending to the middle of the steps, proclaimed the challenge in the like manner, when

the Champion, having thrown down the gauntlet, and received it again from the Herald, made a low obeisance to the King. The Peers had repeated, as if with one voice, 'God bless the King! God save the King!' which was accompanied by acclamations so loud through all parts of the Hall that it startled the horses of the Champion and his noble companions. Then the Cup-bearer, having received from the officer of the Jewel House a gold cup and cover filled with wine, presented the same to the King, and his Majesty drank to the Champion, and sent to him by the Cup-bearer the said cup, which the Champion (having put on his gauntlet) received, and, having made a low obeisance to the King, drank off the wine, and in a loud articulate voice exclaimed, turning himself round, 'Long life to his Majesty King GEORGE the Fourth!' This was followed by a peal of applause resembling thunder, after which, making another low obeisance to his Majesty, and being accompanied as before, he departed out of the Hall, taking with him the said cup and cover as his fee, retiring with his face to his Majesty, and backing his horse out of the Hall.

"PROCLAMATION OF THE STYLES

"Immediately afterwards Garter, attended by Clarenceux, Norroy, Lyon, Ulster, and the rest of the Kings and officers of arms, proclaimed his Majesty's styles in Latin, French, and English three several times—first upon the uppermost step of the elevated platform, next in the middle of the Hall, and lastly at the bottom of the Hall—the officers of arms before each proclamation crying 'Largesse.' After each proclamation the company shouted 'God save the King!' and the ladies waved their handkerchiefs and fans.

"SECOND COURSE

"The second course was then served up with the same ceremony as the first.

"SERVICES IN PURSUANCE OF CLAIMS

"Then the Lord of the Manor of Nether Bilsington presented his Majesty with three maple cups.

"The office of Chief Butler of England was executed by the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl of Arundel and Lord of the Manor of Keninghall, who received a gold basin and ewer as his fee.

"Dinner being concluded, the Lord Mayor and twelve principal citizens of London, as assistants to the Chief Butler of

England.[1] accompanied by the King's Cup-bearer and assistant, presented to his Majesty wine in a gold cup; and the King having drunk thereof, returned the gold cup to the Lord Mayor as his fee.

"The Mayor of Oxford, with the eight other burgesses of that city, as assistants to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, as assistant to the Chief Butler of England in the office of Butler, was conducted to his Majesty, preceded by the King's Cup-bearer, and, having presented to the King a bowl of wine, received the three maple cups for his fee.

"The Lord of the Manor of Lyston, pursuant to his claim, then brought up a charger of wafers to his Majesty's table.

"The Duke of Athol, as Lord of the Isle of Man, presented his Majesty with two falcons. Considerable curiosity was excited by the presentment of these beautiful birds, which sat perfectly tame on the arm of his Grace, completely hooded, and furnished with bells.

"The Duke of Montrose, as Master of the Horse to the King, performed the office of Serjeant of the Silver Scullery.

"The Lord of the Barony of Bedford performed the office of Almoner, and the office of Chief Larderer was performed by the Deputy of the Earl of Abergavenny.

"After the dessert was served up, the King's health was announced by the Peers, and drank by them and the whole of the persons in the Hall standing, with three times three. The Lord Chancellor, overpowered by his feelings on this propitious occasion, rose and said it was usual to drink the health of a subject with three times three, and he thought his subjects ought to drink the Sovereign's health with nine times nine. The choir and additional singers had now been brought forward in front of the Knights Commanders, and the National Anthem was sung with incomparable effect.

"The Duke of Norfolk then said: 'The King thanks his Peers for drinking his health; he does them the honour to drink their health and that of his good people.' His Majesty rose, and, bowing three times to various parts of the immense concourse—

"'The abstract of his kingdom'—

he drank the health of all present. It was succeeded by long and continued shouts from all present, during which the King resumed his seat on his Throne.

[1] The Corporation claims "de servir en le office de butlership, in aydements de capital butler de Angleterre." These services, with the ecclesiastical tenure of frankalmoign, were expressly retained by the Act of 1060.

"The King quitted the Hall at a quarter before eight o'clock ; afterwards the company was indiscriminately admitted to partake of such refreshments as remained on the tables of the Peers."

The "indiscriminate admission to partake of such refreshments as remained" appears to have been a disgraceful scramble, in which a number of silver-gilt vessels and ornaments were seized, and a general plunder only averted by the strenuous action of the Lord Great Chamberlain. A scandalous scene followed :—

"Those in the gallery poured down the different stairs and passages to the festive board, which was vigorously attacked. In a few moments every bottle was emptied of its contents, and fresh supplies obtained. In solids the work of devastation was equally fierce : sweetmeats, pastry, and confectionery of every kind vanished like lightning. Arms were everywhere seen stretched forward, breaking and destroying the table ornaments as trophies. Thus, baskets, flower-pots, vases, and figures were everywhere disappearing, and these were followed by spoons, plates, dishes, etc. These last were of pewter, engraved with the Royal Arms and letters 'Geo. IV.,' and were therefore greatly coveted."

The pugilists stationed at the doors, however, and disguised in ruffs and trunk-hose,[1] stripped even ladies of their booty.

"A similarly disgraceful scene," says Jones,[2] "occurred at the Coronation banquet of George I. When the waiters came to collect the various objects of the feast, plates, knives, forks, viands, table-cloths, had nearly all disappeared. A great outcry arose, and the rogues were 'commanded' in public advertisements to make restitution, or dreadful penalties would follow ; but they seem to have escaped detection." At Anne's Coronation also "the whole of the plate, together with a vast quantity of pewter and valuable table-linen, were carried off by thieves." [3]

[1] Broughton the prize-fighter (*ob.* 1789), interred in the west cloister of the Abbey, is described on his tablet as "Yeoman-of-the-Guard."

[2] *Crowns and Coronations*, p. 508. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

After George III.'s banquet there was an unseemly scramble for the glass from which Queen Charlotte had drunk. The *Annual Register* says that the richly-attired spectators, sitting famished for long hours in the galleries in sight of such prodigality of food, lost patience, and let down baskets with a "Pray remember the poor," "like the prisoners' boxes at Ludgate or the Gatehouse," while ladies lowered a string of handkerchiefs to draw up a chicken or a bottle of wine.

It was the place of the High Steward, Great Chamberlain, and Earl Marshal (with his tipstaves) to ride about the hall to see that all were supplied, "cheering the lords, ladies and the maior and his brethren." At Henry V.'s banquet—how Falstaff must have desired to be there! —"by way of preserving order and adding to the magnificence of the spectacle, many of the nobility were arranged along the sides of the table on large war-horses, at a festival, 'which,' says Thomas de Elmham, 'was a second feast of Ahasuerus.'" At this splendid banquet, Elmham adds enthusiastically, "the air was filled with the tumultuous noise of trumpets, or soothed with the sweeter melody of the harp. The countenance was gladdened by the liberal gifts of Bacchus and of Ceres—in sooth, whatever, nourisht in the lap of earth, the bosom of the deep, or the regions of serene air, could serve to increase the general joy, was brought to swell the glory of this feast."

No wonder the spectators in the galleries were hungry. Lists are preserved of the prodigious quantities of provisions supplied for these banquets, which were followed by "marvellous great feasting" at Whitehall. There were always three courses, and at the end anciently came wafers, hippocras, and confections. *Non nobis Domine* was sung in 1821.

Alexander II. of Russia intended to feast at his Coronation 200,000 poor people. The tables covered a square mile. The signal was to be given by hoisting a flag. Unfortunately, on the eve of the banquet an engineer

officer, trying experiments with the ropes, sent the flag flying. In a moment 20,000 moujiks, prowling round like famished wolves, swooped on the tables and cleared them (Jones).[1]

A mistimed economy was aimed at by George III.'s Lord Steward, William Earl Talbot, who tried to deprive the London Aldermen and the barons of the Five Ports of their tables. (The latter had a right to dine on the "hault place" near the King.) Alderman Beckford complained, "We have invited the King to a banquet which will cost us £10,000, and yet when we come to Court we are to be given nothing to eat." The table of the Knights of the Bath was at last assigned to them, but to the Canopy-bearers the distracted official said, "Gentlemen, if you speak to me as High Steward I must tell you there was no room for you. If as Lord Talbot, I am ready to give you satisfaction in any way you think fit." He did not have to fight the two-and-thirty, but he exchanged shots with Wilkes, who had ridiculed him in the *North Briton*. Lord Talbot was unpopular, but the *Gentleman's Magazine* records that his manner of backing his horse out of the Hall, after the bringing in of the first course, "surprised and delighted the spectators, who, notwithstanding the Royal presence, gave him loud and repeated applauses." Wilkes made sport, however, of the story (related by Walpole) that his charger was so well trained to go backwards that he was with difficulty prevented from entering the Sovereign's presence tail foremost.

There was a disturbance at Charles II.'s banquet. When the King and Queen had retired, on their first entrance, "some of the King's footemen most insolently and violently seised on the Canopy, and the Barons Indeavouring to keepe it as their just right were drawne

[1] The terrible catastrophe at the great feast given by the present Tsar will not soon be forgotten. An immemorial feature of English Coronations was the Fair in Hyde Park. This coincided in 1663 with the usual St. James's Fair, which was postponed because of the plague.

down to the lower end of the Hall, still keeping their hold." York Herald sending to "advertise the King of this insolencie," His Majesty bade an equerry go and command the Canopy to be delivered to the barons, "who by this meanes lost their place at the vpper end of the Table assigned to them" (Walker). They had to sit with the Masters and six Clerks of the Chancery. Precedents were not easy to recall, as there had been no banquet for more than a hundred years.

Charles II., having ceremoniously washed his hands—he had forgotten to do this at the beginning, till the Lord Chamberlain brought the ewer and bason [1]—retired before the third course. A violent thunderstorm was going on. At George III.'s banquet the peeresses obtained leave to withdraw before the close, in order to avoid the crowd. The King and Queen withdrew soon after ten. Formerly the Sovereign retired to Whitehall by water.

This banquet had begun late. Through no fault of the King's, the service in the Abbey did not begin till 1.30 P.M., and also through no fault of his, for more than once he prompted the officials in their duties, there were long and embarrassing pauses between the ceremonies. Consequently, to the great chagrin of the spectators, it was dusk—the day was September 22—when the procession returned. In Westminster Hall the spectators had waited six hours, and were now sitting in partial darkness. "The whole was confusion, irregularity, and disorder." In a moment, however, all was transformed. Gray [2] describes the scene :—

"The instant the Queen's canopy entered, fire was given to all the lustres at once by trains of prepared flax that reached from one to the other. To me it seemed an interval of not half a minute before the whole was in a blaze of splendour. It is true that, for that half minute, it rained fire upon the heads of

[1] The Lord of the Manor of Heydon holds one moiety by the service of presenting a towel to the King before the banquet, and the other by the service of bearing the bason and ewer.

[2] *Correspondence*, pp. 276, 277.

all the spectators, the flax falling in large flakes, and the ladies, Queen and all, were in no small terror ; but no mischief ensued. It was out as soon as fell, and the most magnificent spectacle I ever beheld remained. The King, bowing to the Lords as he passed, with his Crown on his head and the Sceptre and Orb in his hands, took his place with great majesty and grace. So did the Queen, with her Crown, Sceptre, and Rod. Then supper was served on gold plate. The Earl Talbot, Duke of Bedford, and Earl of Effingham, in their robes, all three on horseback, prancing and curveting like the hobby-horses in the 'Rehearsal,' ushered in the courses to the foot of the *haut-pas*. Between the courses the Champion performed his part with applause."

Among those waiting spectators, if the tale, which Horace Walpole believed was certainly true, can be credited, sate the Disinherited, who five years later was regarded by loyal hearts as King of England, and who sixteen years before had marched an army within striking distance of London. A few days after George III.'s Coronation, Earl Marischal told David Hume that the Young Chevalier had been, he believed, present, under the name of Mr. Brown. "I asked my lord the reason for this strange fact. 'Why,' says he, 'a gentleman told me so who saw him there, and whispered in his ear : "Your Royal Highness is the last of all mortals whom I should expect to see here." "It was curiosity that led me," said the other. "But I assure you," added he, "that the person who is the cause of all this pomp and magnificence is the man I envy the least."'" An addition to this very dramatic story is that a lady's gage was actually thrown from the gallery before the Champion, who, receiving it from his esquire, asked, "Who is my fair foe?" The incident, borrowed seemingly from a similar story of 1689, is related in Scott's *Redgauntlet*. Hume, writing to Pringle, asks, "What if the Pretender *had* taken up Dymoke's gauntlet?" George III. lived to see monarchies go down in blood and revive again. From his own crown that day in Westminster Hall there fell a large diamond. This was afterwards taken to foreshadow the loss of America.

The subject of the Hereditary Championship and its secular connection with the Dymokes of Scrivelsby (who use the ingeniously canting motto, *Dimico pro rege*) has been so often treated that it is not necessary to say much about it here. The late Sir Henry Dymoke, who appeared in 1821 as deputy for his father, the latter being in sacred orders, performed the office, that picturesque survival of chivalry, for the last time; and but recently the direct line of an ancient family became extinct, the present Champion being Mr. Frank Dymoke of Scrivelsby. The Conqueror granted the office to Robert de Marmion,

> "Lord of Fontenaye,
> Of Lutteward and Scrivelbaye,
> Of Tamworth Tower and Town."

But the Marmions had even before the Conquest held their lands in Normandy by the same service of sergeantry rendered to their Dukes. The last Lord Marmion, dying in 1292, left a daughter, who was wedded to a Gloucestershire knight, Sir John Dymoke, and he acted as Champion at the Coronation of Richard II.—"athleta regis," Walsingham styles him.

The account of Henry VI.'s banquet says :—

"Upon a scaffold stoode the kynges herawdes of armes with crownes on theyr hedes; and at the fyrst cours they came down from her scaffold, and they went before the kynges chaumpyon Syr Phelip Dymok that *rode in the hall bright as seynt George*. And he proclaimed in the iiij quarters of the hall that the kyng was a rightfull kyng and heyre to the crowne of Engelond, and what maner of man that wyll say the contrary he was redy to defende it as hys knyght and hys chaumpion, for by that offyce he holdith his lande."

Menin mentions that for the Champion to trip or fall is regarded by the English as an ill presage for the reign. In 1685 the Champion, in going to kiss James II.'s hand, fell on the floor, "whereupon the Queen sayde

'See you, love, what a weak champion you have.'" Twice in three years James had to fight for his Crown.

When William and Mary's Champion (who claimed *two* cups as his fee) threw down his glove, it is said to have been ignominiously carried off in the dusk—the tapers were not lit—by an old woman on crutches.

The richly decorated suit of armour worn by George I.'s Champion, originally made for Sir Christopher Hatton in 1585, and bearing the crowned cipher "E.R.," was presented to King Edward VII. on June 13, 1901, by certain noblemen and gentlemen, to be placed in Windsor Castle. It had been sold at auction in 1887 by the Dymoke heirs for £1400, and resold for nearly £5000. An order was made in 1714 for delivering to the Champion "one suit of armour, *cap-à-pie*, white and parcel gilt, of King Charles the Second. One white manifair. One short gauntlet, white, engraven and parcel gilt. One target, painted with his arms and set round with silk fringe. One sword, with scabbard of crimson velvet. One belt of crimson velvet."

Stanley[1] and others repeat what is said in a newspaper of that date, that the 1761 Champion rode a grey charger which had carried George II. at Dettingen—the same, I suppose, which ran away with him towards the enemy's lines. The little King, dismounting from the fiery quadruped, said bravely, "Now I know I shall not run away"; and placed himself at the head of the foot, drew his sword, brandishing it at the whole of the French army, and calling out to his own men to come on, in bad English, but with the most famous pluck and spirit."[2] But Dettingen was fought in 1743, and all the fire must have gone out of the horse eighteen years later. Possibly, however, this would be a recommendation. A few days before the Coronation there had been a full-dress rehearsal by the Champion in the Hall. There was one, too, in 1821 by all the State officials.

[1] *Westminster Abbey*, p. 104, *n.* [2] Thackeray, *Four Georges*.

George IV.'s Champion rode a piebald, borrowed prosaically from Astley's. The Champion, however, might choose the best horse but one out of the royal stable. Wellington, bearing his truncheon as Lord High Constable, was mounted on a white horse with georgeous trappings. On all the horses' heads were plumes of feathers. By Haydon, the painter, the scene is thus described :—

"Wellington, in his coronet, walked down the Hall, cheered by the officers of the Guards. He returned shortly, mounted, with Lords Howard and Anglesea. They rode gracefully to the foot of the throne, and then backed out. Lord Anglesea's horse became restive. Wellington looked impatient, and, I am convinced, thought it a trick of Lord Anglesea's to attract attention.[1] He never paused, but backed on, and the rest were obliged to follow him. This was a touch of character. The Hall doors opened again, and outside, in twilight, a man in dark shadowed armour appeared against the shining sky. He then moved, passed into darkness under the arch, and suddenly Wellington, Howard, and the Champion stood in full view, with the doors closed behind them. This was certainly the finest sight of the day. The Herald read the challenge ; the glove was thrown down. They all then proceeded to the Throne."

Sir Walter Scott, who described the 1821 Coronation as a ceremony than which "it is impossible to conceive anything more august and imposing in all its parts," and who was an eager spectator of this inspiring scene, says :—

"The Champion was performed (as of right) by young Dymoke, a fine looking youth, but bearing too much, perhaps, the appearance of a maiden knight to be the challenger of the world in a King's behalf. He threw down his gauntlet, however, with becoming manhood, and showed as much horsemanship as the crowd of knights and squires around him would permit to be exhibited. On the whole, this striking

[1] Lord Anglesea had left a limb on the field of Waterloo—like Hood's warrior who there "left his second leg And the Forty-second Foot"—but, according to Scott, "showed the most exquisite grace in managing his horse."

part of the exhibition somewhat disappointed me, for I would have had the Champion less embarrassed by his assistants, and at liberty to put his horse on the *grand pas;* and yet the young Lord of Scrivelsby looked and behaved extremely well."

It must occur to every one that the challenge should be delivered before the King's consecration instead of after it. Anciently, the Champion rode with the procession to the church, and proclaimed the challenge on the way, as well as at the banquet. Henry IV.'s Champion challenged all opposers in the palace, and in six places of the city. At the preceding Coronation Walsingham records that "Sir John Dimmook" came to the door of the church while the Mass was proceeding, but being admonished by the Lord Marshal that he had come too soon, retired.

Although the "Honourable the King's Champion" appeared at George IV.'s Coronation, trial by battle had recently been abolished by 59 Georgii III., cap. 46, Thornton, the murderer of Mary Ashford, having claimed the ordeal of single combat.

Connected with the banquet there are other feudal duties of Grand Sergeantry (*magnum servitium:* "sergeant" = servientem), of which nothing is said in the above account. Addington Manor is held by presenting in person a pottage called grout or dillegrout. Charles II., we read, accepted the dish, but did not taste it. Various noblemen bear the offices of Chief Cupbearer, of Chief Lardiner, of Napier, and of Grand Carver. The Grand Pannetier, and the Dapifer or Server, no longer exist. The Poet Laureate holds a Court office adorned by some great names and cheapened by some small ones.

The proclamations of 1838, 1901 and 1910, dispensing with the services hitherto rendered at Westminster Hall, expressly reserved to all concerned their rights at future Coronations. These rights are examined by the Court of Claims, which was of old the court of the Lord High Steward.

The incredible profusion of eatables described in the old chronicles is picturesquely diversified with refined confectionary conceits and poetic "subtleties." Thus the child King Henry VI.'s English and French descent was set forth by

"a sotyltie of seynt Edwarde and seynt Lowys armyd, and vpon eyther his cote armure, holdynge atwene them a figure lyke unto kynge Henry, standynge also in his cote armour, and a scripture passynge from them both, sayinge: "Beholde, ii parfyght kynges vnder one cote armour"; and vnder the fete of the sayd seyntes was wryten this balade:

"'Holy seyntes Edwarde and seynt Lowyce
Concerne this braunche, borne of your blessyd blode,
Lyve amonge Christen, moste soveraygne of pryce,
Inheritour of the flour de lyce so gode,
This sixte Henry to reygne and to be wyse,
God graunte he may, to be your mode,
And that he may resemble your knyghthode and vertue
Pray ye hertely vnto our Lorde Ihesu.'"

After the second course there was a subtlety of the Emperor Sigismund and Henry V., and "a fygure lyke vnto kynge Henry the vi. knelynge to fore theym," with a ballad tacked to him setting forth how Sigismund "cherysshed the churche, to Lollers gaue a fall." After the third course there was seen "a sotyltie of our Lady, syttynge with her childe in her lappe, and she holdyng a crowne in her hand. Seynt George and seynt Denys, knelynge on eyther syde, presentyd to her kynge Henryes fygure, berynge in hande this balade, as followeth:

"'O blessed lady, Cristes moder dere,
And thou, seynt George, that called art her knyght,
Holy seynt Denys, O master most entere.
The sixt Henry here present in your syght,
Shedyth of your grace on hym your heuenly lyght.
His tender youth with vertue of auaunce,
Borne by discent, and by tytle of ryght
Iustly to reygne in Englande and in Fraunce.'"

So among the devices at Queen Kate's fish and Lenten banquet in 1421 was "a march payne garnysshed with dyuerse fygures of aungellys," and "an image of seynt Katheryne disputing with the doctors. Also the pelican in her piety. Also a sotyltie named a tigre loking in a mirrour, and a man sytting on horse backe, clene armyd,

holding in his armys a tiger whelpe with this reson (*Par force sanz reson ie ay pryse ceste beste*), and with his one hande makynge a countenance of throwynge of mirrours at the great tigre," which also held a "reason." The sequel of Fabyan's account of Henry VI.'s Coronation must be given. The Middle Ages were a marvellous mixture of beauty, piety, and grimness.

"This solempne coronacyon, with all honoure and joye fynysshed, prouycyon was made for the kynges iournaye into Fraunce, in which passetyme, that is to meane vpon the xxiii daye of Ianuary, an herytyke was brent in Smythfelde. And vpon the morowe was in that felde foughten a stronge fyght atwene Iohn Vpton appellant and Iohn Downe defendant; but for they quyt theym bothe so manfully the kynge at length releasyd theyr quarele and pardoned theym of their trespas. . . . Thervpon seynt Georges daye folowynge the kynge toke shyppynge at Douer and landyd the same daye at Calays. . . . In this tyme and season that the kynge lay thus at Calays many skyrmisshes were foughten atwene the Englisshmen and the Frenshemen in dyuers parties of Fraunce, and greatly the Frenshemen preuayled by the helpe of a woman whiche they named the Mayden of God. . . . But in the ende she was taken on lyve and . . . iuged and brent. . . . On the vii. daye of Decembre (1432) kynge Henry the vi. was crowned in Parys of the cardynall of Wynchester."

At Richard II.'s banquet Walsingham describes a hollow marble pillar, crowned by a large golden eagle, from under whose feet flowed on four sides various kinds of wine, of which none was forbidden to partake. Holinshed speaks of dancing on this occasion, as well as minstrelsy. On the other hand, at Edward II.'s Coronation, one of the causes of anger against Gaveston was the badness of the banquet which he provided for the hungry barons.

The account given above of the last Banquet may be supplemented by a few details. A boarded floor, covered with matting, had been laid down. The tables extended in two long lines as far as the royal daïs. Over the north entrance was a gallery for the "King's Musick," and over that "a noble organ." The galleries at the

sides were, in 1761, if not in 1821, in three tiers, the uppermost tier supported by Richard II.'s great angel-terminated hammer-beams. Under the lowest were large pantry-closets fitted up. The Hall was lighted by large lustres, each having a great number of wax tapers. The Gothic galleries, upheld by gilded columns, were draped with rich materials tied up with scarlet cords, the corners of the festoons being surmounted by great golden rosettes and laurel garlands. The entrance, beneath a triumphal arch of Gothic design, on which stood figures of Richard II. and the Confessor, was by massive folding doors constructed like flood-gates to resist pressure from outside. Outside the portal was a Gothic vestibule, and all the seats, sideboards, and other furniture were after the medieval pattern. The daïs was richly adorned, and on the buffets stood a dazzling array of gold plate. At the side were boxes for royal personages and for Ambassadors. The Sword and Sceptres were held on either side of the King and before him. The Prelates sat at the royal table ; the peers and peeresses, superbly robed, faced each other down the hall. Pages (young gentlemen and noblemen), in Henry Quatre costumes, waited —the scapegraces, however, were rather inattentive—at table. When Henry III. had his son crowned, he served him in the office of chief boteler. It was nothing, however, the Prince laughingly observed, that a King's son should be waited on by the son of an Earl.

After George IV.'s Coronation a series of eighty-four magnificent water-colour paintings, afterwards engraved, were made by Sir Thomas Laurence, by royal command, at a cost of £10,000. The habits worn in 1821 (for which Sir George Nayler's magnificent plates should be consulted) were more *en grande tenue* than they had been at George III.'s Coronation, though, in view of the large number of *novi homines* raised to the peerage in the late reign, it was thought distinguished to appear in old and faded robes. But Horace Walpole wrote of the 1761 Solemnity as follows :—

"For the Coronation, if a puppet-show could be worth a million, that is. The multitudes, balconies, guards, and processions made Palace Yard the liveliest spectacle in the world; the Hall was the most glorious. The blaze of lights, the richness and variety of habits, the ceremonial, the benches of Peers and Peeresses, frequent and full, was as awful as a pageant can be. . . . The King complained that so few precedents were kept for their proceedings. Lord Effingham owned the Earl Marshal's office had been strangely neglected, but he had taken care for the future that the *next Coronation* would be regulated in the most exact manner imaginable. [It took place sixty years after.] . . . The coronets of the Peers and their robes disguised them strangely; it required all the beauty of the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough to make them noticed. One there was, though of another species, the noblest figure I ever saw, the High Constable of Scotland, Lord Errol; as one saw him in a space capable of containing him, one admired him. At the Wedding [just before the Coronation], dressed in tissue, he looked like one of the giants in Guildhall new gilt. It added to the energy of his person that one considered him acting so considerable a part in that very Hall where so few years ago one saw his father, Lord Kilmarnock, condemned to the block. The Champion acted his part admirably, and dashed down his gauntlet with proud defiance. His associates, Lord E****, Lord Talbot, and the Duke of Bedford, were woeful."

Walpole adds: "By a childish compliment to the King, they reserved the illumination of the hall till his entry, by which means they arrived like a funeral, nothing being discernible but the plumes of the Knights of the Bath, which seemed the hearse." At George IV.'s Coronation Westminster Hall was lighted while the service was going on in the Abbey.

The Coronation ceremonies were ended by Latin epigrams spoken by the Westminster Scholars.

Both in France and England special devotions were once usual on the day after the Coronation. Thus after Richard II.'s there was a procession of Bishops, Abbots, nobles, and a great multitude of people to pray for the child King and the peace of the kingdom. King Edward VII. and his Queen attended divine service at the Chapel Royal in semi-state the morning after their consecration.

EXCURSUS F

THE PROGRESS FROM THE TOWER

"*Prince of Wales.* Say, uncle Gloster, if our brother come,
Where shall we sojourn till our Coronation?
Gloucester. Where it seems best unto your royal self.
If I may counsel you, some day or two
Your highness shall repose you at the Tower."
—*Richard the Third*, iii. 1.

The Tower was of old "the castle royall and cheefe howse of safetye in this kingdome." It was alternately a palace and a prison. To it our Princes repaired by water for security until "all things of royal apparell and pompe necessarye and proper" to their consecration could be provided. And thence they passed, bareheaded, to be seen by their subjects, through London to the suburban village of Westminster the day before the Solemnity, having dined at the Tower in state early in the forenoon.

At recent Coronations the ceremonies which formerly took place outside the church having been discontinued, there has been a street procession from the Sovereign's residence to the Abbey on the day of the Coronation. In 1838 this was a more extended spectacle than in 1831, though much criticised at the time as humdrum and poor. In 1902 there was a Procession on a very much larger scale—a real revival in idea of the ancient Progress—save that it was to be on the day after, instead of the day before, the Coronation. In the event it was postponed till October. On the morrow of 1911 Coronation their Majesties will proceed through the City and South London, and on June 29 will proceed by another

route to the Guildhall to take luncheon with the Corporation, returning, probably, through parts of East and North London. There is to be a short service at St. Paul's. Our dingy, featureless, and lack-lustre modern civilization needs especially these rare invasions of old-world poetry. Vanished, however, are the picturesque "pageants" and pretty "triumphs," which, like the conduits quaintly spouting red wine and white, have disappeared with the beautiful old narrow Elizabethan streets.

William I., the Tower being yet unbuilt, was lodged at the Palace of Blackfriars, and, taking barge on Christmas morning to London Bridge, began his Progress from a house near London Stone.

Perhaps the earliest detailed account of a Coronation Progress is that of Henry III.'s Queen, Eleanor of Provence, in 1235. The citizens, having claimed the office of cellarers to the King, rode forth to escort him and his consort, 360 in number, clothed in long embroidered robes, each bearing a gold and silver cup in his hand, their steeds richly caparisoned, and the trumpeters sounding in front.

One feature of Richard II.'s youthful progress, Holinshed relates, was, at the upper end of Chepe, a castle with four towers, spouting wine, and in each tower a beautiful virgin, "of stature and age like to the King," in white vestures, "the which blew in the King's face, at his approaching neere to them, leaves of gold, and as he approached also they threw on him and his horsse florens of gold counterfeit. When he was come before the castell they tooke cups of gold, and filling them with wine at the spouts of the castell presented the same to the King and to his nobles." Above, betwixt the towers, stood a golden angel holding a crown, so contrived that "when the King came he bowed downe and offered to him the crowne."

Henry of Lancaster's cavalcade numbered 6000 horsemen, and the number of gentlemen in the escort, with

their richly-liveried attendants, is described by Froissart as prodigious. The civic guilds and mysteries were dressed in their proper liveries, and carried the ensigns of their trades. The Duke presented a noble appearance, wearing the blue Garter on his left leg, and the Order of the King of France round his neck. He rode a white courser.

> "You would have thought the very windows spake,
> So many greedy looks of young and old
> Through casements darted their desiring eyes
> Upon his visage, and that all the walls
> With painted imagery had said at once,
> Jesu preserve thee!"

In Crookbacked Richard's retinue was the princely Buckingham, who appeared "in great splendour, his habit and caparison being of blue velvet embroidered with gold, and the trappings of his horse were supported by footmen in rich and costly dresses, in such solemn fashion that all men regarded it" (Grafton).

Henry VII.'s Devise says, "The king shall ride opyn heded vndre a seele of cloth of gold baudekyn with iiij staves gilte, to be borne alweis by iiij noble knights, they to be chaunged at diuerse and many places"—because of the long distance, and that the honour might be divided. Two esquires of the body were attired to represent the King's duchies of Guienne and Normandy. Among the attendant archers appear for the first time the yeomen of the guard.

Henry's consort, Elizabeth of York, was not crowned till the following year. Ives[1] says that two days before the ceremony,

"The queene's good grace, royally apparelled, and accompanyed with my ladie the king's mother and many other great estates, bothe lordes and ladies, richely besene, came forward to the coronacion; and at their coming furth from Grenewich by water, there was attending upon her there the maior, shrifes, and aldermen of the citie, and divers and many worshipfull

[1] *Coronacion of Queene Elizabeth*, p. 120.

comoners, chosen out of every craft, in their levereyes, in barges freshly furnished with banners and stremers of silke, richely beaton with the armes and bagges of their craftes; and, in especially, a barge called the bachelor's barge, garnished and apparelled passing all other; wherein was ordeynid a great redde dragon spouting flames of fyer into the Thamess, and many other gentlemanlie pagiaunts, well and curiously devised to do her highness sporte and pleasoure with. And her grace, thus royally apparelled and accompanied, and also furnished in every behalf with trumpettes, claryons and other mynstrellys as apperteynid and was fitting to her estate roial, landed at the Toure wharfe and enterid into the Toure; where the king's highnes welcomed her in such maner fourme as was to all the estates and others there being present a very good sight and right joyous and comfortable to beholde."

Next day she rode to Westminster, according to the Devise, in an open litter of white silk damask, with ribbons and fringes of gold and silk, studded with gilt nails, "ij greit coursers bering the said littar vppon ij saddels couered in white damask cloth of gold," and all the horse furniture to match. Four knights carried over her a baldachin with bells of latten upon silvered shafts, two lords led the coursers, and behind rode four baronesses on gray palfries, the Queen's chamberlain and squires ushers, and a vast number of other attendants. Elizabeth's fair golden hair is described as "hanging doune plaine behynd her bak, with a calle of pipes over it," and confined only on the forehead by a coronal of gold set with orient gems. In divers places "were ordeynid singing children, some arayed like angelles and other like virgins, to sing swete songes as her grace passed by."

When Henry VIII. passed with Catherine of Arragon through the city, Cheapside was lined by all the crafts and occupations. The goldsmiths' stalls, reaching to the end of Old Change, were "replenished with virgins in white with braunches of white waxe; the priestes and clerkes, in rich copes with crosses and censers of silver, censying his grace and the quene as they passed." Great was the joy and glory of that day. Twenty years later the time-serving Cranmer, having pronounced an

iniquitous sentence upon Catherine, hurried back from Dunstable to anoint and crown her servant and rival. The chronicles of Anne Boleyn's Whitsun Eve progress through London are full and picturesque. But one cannot without a certain heartlessness linger over the details of the beautiful pageants. Froude's words are well known :—

"Fortune's plaything of the hour, the Queen of England—Queen at last!—borne along upon the waves of this sea of glory, breathing the perfumed incense of greatness which she had risked her fair name, her delicacy, her honour, her self-respect, to win. And she had won it. There she sate, dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders and her temples circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds—most beautiful, loveliest, most favoured perhaps as she seemed at that hour of all England's daughters. . . . The King was not with her throughout the day, nor did he intend to be with her in any part of the ceremony. She was to reign without a rival; the undisputed Sovereign of the hour. . . . Did any twinge of remorse, any pang of painful recollection, pierce at that moment the incense of glory which she was inhaling?"—(*History*, i. 456–458.)

Three years later Anne was beheaded at that same Tower, the Mayor, Aldermen and city companies, who had received her so splendidly, looking on at the severing of her comely neck! Poor guilty woman! she had begged for the daily presence of the Holy Sacrament in the prison to comfort her.

A coeval painting at Cowdray in Sussex (engraved by Basire, 1787) shows Edward VI. under a canopy borne by four bareheaded esquires on horseback. The prelates and peers ride in front, and before the Archbishop and Protector a cross is carried. The picture shows the crosses in Cheap and at Charing.

One of the pageants prepared for Anne Boleyn was "Saint Ann, with all her issue beneath her, and under Mary Cleophe sate her foure children; of the which children one made a goodlie oration to the Queene of the fruitfulness of Saint Ann," but most of the

allegorical devices were taken from heathen mythology. It is noticeable, as another phase of the Renaissance, that Edward VI. was greeted by Sapience and the Seven Liberal Sciences, also by Valentine and Orson, whereas the conceits provided for Elizabeth were chiefly Scriptural. Edward and Mary were entertained also by wonderful steeple-jack feats from the top of St. Paul's. The latter listened to Latin and English orations delivered by John Heywoode the epigrammatist, seated at the school in Paul's churchyard "in a pageant under a vine." One triumphal arch was erected by the Genoese; another by the Esterlings; a third in Gracious (Grace-church) Street by the Florentines. There were "trumpets and waits, shawmes and regals," and the children of the cathedral played upon viols and sang. Mary hungrily caught at any sign of affection in her people. Close by her in a litter was the lady Elizabeth, wearing a caul beset with pearls and gems, and over that a golden circlet, "beset so richlie with pretius stones that the value thereof was inestimable. The same kall and circle being so massie and ponderous that she was faine to beare vp her head with her hand." Mary had been told by her Council that her passage through the streets would be unsafe, while the act illegitimatising her remained unrepealed. She fixed the day, however, for her Progress, and, sending for her councillors, she spoke of her past life and sufferings, of the conspiracy to set her aside, and of the Providence which had brought her to her rights. Her only desire was to do her duty to God and to her people, and she hoped (turning pointedly to Gardiner) that they would not forget their loyalty, and would stand by her in her extremity. "Observing them hesitate, she cried, 'My lords, on my knees I implore you!' and flung herself on the ground at their feet. The most skilful acting could not have served Mary's purpose better than this outburst of natural emotion. The spectacle of their kneeling sovereign overcame for a time the scheming passions of her ministers. They

were affected, burst into tears, and withdrew their opposition" (*Froude*, vi. 101).

Gracious she had not the trick of seeming, but her half-sister was skilful in the arts of popular piety and winningness. Elizabeth was received with "prayers, wishes, welcomminges, cryes, tender woordes and all other signes which argue a wonderfull earnest love of most obedient subjects." They, on the other hand, were "wonderfully rauished with the louing answers and gestures of theyr Princesse." Now she stayed her chariot to hear the petition of some base man or woman; now she bade it to be drawn quite close to some child, apparelled as angel or poet or Scriptural character, who expounded to her (first kissing the paper) the meaning of some ingenious pageant, so that not a word might be lost, earnestly thanking those near her, and beaming graciously on those who were far off. They saw each wave of emotion pass over her face, her hands or eyes uplifted, the Bible (which was let down to her with a silken lace by Truth, led by Time issuing out of a cavern in a "mountain") fervently kissed, held up in both hands, and pressed to her heart. Nothing escaped her attention. Her quick and pithy comments on everything pointed out to her were repeated with delight from citizen to citizen. The whole scene is described to us at length: the fountains of sack and rhenish, the streets hung with banners and tapestries, the carved woodwork new-painted and gilded, the guns booming, joy-bells ringing, "noise of musicke" and "heavenly melodie" of boys and virgins. Here was a pageant of the Eight Beatitudes (applied to Elizabeth's previous sufferings), which were represented by eight children. At the nether end of Cornhill was the "Seate of Worthie Governance," in which Elizabeth herself was represented upheld by four Virtues which trod their contrary Vices underfoot. There was an elaborate triumph of the union of the houses of York and Lancaster. In another place were two hills—one bearing

a ragged, decayed tree, and the other a green and fair one, under which sate figures representing respectively a ruinous and a flourishing Commonwealth. Another showed "Debora with her estates, consulting for the good governement of Israel." At Temple Bar stood the giants Gogmagog the Albion and Corineus the Briton, holding a table written with verses in Latin. Best of all, the Mayor and Commonalty presented a purse of crimson satin, richly wrought with gold, containing a thousand golden marks.

It is often stated that, owing to the plague, James I. had no Progress. It was, in fact, postponed for more than six months, till March 19, 160$\frac{3}{4}$, "the holy time in Lent, the joyfull springtime, when the ground in triumph of the time should likewise flourish in ample equipage" (Dugdale). "Pæan triumphals" and "panegyres" were penned by Ben Jonson, Drayton, and others, and William Hubbocke spoke a Latin oration gratulatory (this illustrated tract is in the British Museum). The King, in "passing triumphantly through his royal cittie and chamber of London to his Highnes' Mannor of Whitehall," was "richly mounted on a white gennet, under a rich canopie susteined by eyght gentlemen of the Privie Chamber, for the barons of the Cinque Portes." He set forward through seven gates, adorned with arches, piramides, and "pegmes," "to performe the residue of the solemnities of his Coronation." One triumph was "Saint George and Saint Andrew in compleat armour" who "met in one combate and fought for the victorie, but an old hermitt passing by, in an Oration, joyned them hand in hand, and so for ever hath made them as one harte." These triumphs took many months to erect, and the magnificence was such as "the stomack might glutton" withal. James "endured the day's brunt with patience," but described the love of his people as "like the fire unquenchable." Anne followed "with her seemely hayre doune trailing on her princely-bearing shoulders, on which was a crownet of gold. She so mildely saluted

her subjects that the women weeping ripe cryed all in one voice, God blesse the Royall Queene, welcome to England!"

Charles I.'s London Progress was also prevented by the plague, but his passage through the streets of Edinburgh to be crowned at Holyrood was attended by allegorical entertainments—Mars, Mercury, and Minerva; a moving mountain to represent Edinburgh; a theatre representing a Highland scene; Bacchus on the Mercat Cross drinking healths; the hill of Parnassus, green with birks, where nine pretty boys, representing the nine nymphs or muses, were nymph-like clad. Amidst the trees appeared Endymion, like a shepherd, in a long coat of crimson velvet, with gilt leather buskins, telling the King, in William Drummond's verse, that he had been despatched by Cynthia to celebrate the day: "Whilk hail orations his Majesty, with great pleasure and delight, sitting on horseback, as his company did, heard pleasantly."

The last of the Progresses, amid an "innumerable multitude" of people, was that of Charles II. Besides other "arch triumphals"—such as a Temple of Concord, containing twelve living figures and twenty-four violins; a Garden of Plenty (Flora, Pomona, and Bacchus drawn by tigers); and a delightful Boscage full of several beasts, both tame and salvage—there were "four stately standing pageants": one representing Anarchy, hand-in-hand with confusion; a second Presbytery, and with it the decay of Trade; a third Hierarchy, and the restoration of the Episcopate—the old cross which the Puritans had destroyed in Cheapside was made to arise and stand again in its place; the fourth represented the restoration of the Monarchy. The cavalcade was very sumptuous, and dazzled Pepys. "It were in vain," says Heath, "to describe this solemnity. It was so far from being utterable that it was almost inconceivable, and much wonder it caused to outlandish persons," even the French. The Duke of

Buckingham's suit had cost £20,000. But the preceding century was the one for open-air pageants. A few years later the beautiful old London had perished.

James II. said he had saved London £60,000 by foregoing the Progress. Considering the sum spent on his Queen's jewels, Macaulay says he was "profuse where he ought to have been frugal, and niggardly where he might pardonably have been profuse." James I.'s Coronation and Progress cost £36,147. George IV.'s Coronation (*sans* Progress) and Banquet cost £268,000. For his brother's maimed rites £43,160 was voted, of which £3034, 18s. went for fireworks and free playhouses. The cost in 1838 was £70,000. The sum voted in 1902 was very much larger.

When the curtailed scale of the 1838 Solemnity was announced, meetings were held in the City to express indignation at the "Penny Crowning," at one of which £100,000 was offered by the citizens towards the revival of the abandoned pageants and Banquet. The newspapers also attacked the "mean programme."

It is a pity that the Thames should no longer play any part in a Coronation. On August 1, 1831, William IV. and Queen Adelaide went by water in thirty State barges to witness the opening of the New London Bridge. The Embankment supplies excellent accommodation for spectators.

EXCURSUS G

THE KNIGHTS OF THE BATH AND THE KING'S VIGIL

The year after Queen Victoria's Coronation a great enlargement took place in the Order of the Bath, which was for centuries associated with the Coronation, and no knightly banners have been hung in Henry VII.'s Chapel since 1839, though one, that of Earl Dundonald —ignominiously hurled down the chapel steps in 1814 in sign of his degradation—was in 1860 restored to its place by Lancaster Herald, by order of her late Majesty, on the day of the great sailor's obsequies in the Abbey.

The symbolism of the special creation of Knights of the Bath before a Coronation was the purity with which that solemnity should be approached. There is no actual account, however, of such a creation till Henry IV. Forty-six esquires, among them three of the King's sons, after being shriven, watched their arms in the Tower; and the next morning, being washed, were, after Mass, created Knights, and given long green coats with straight sleeves, lined with minever "after the manner of prelates," and on their left shoulders a double cord of white silk, with white tufts hanging down. Edward IV. was preceded through the City by "xxxii. knyghtys rydynge before hym in blewe gownes and hoodys vpon theur shulders lyke to prestys."

Henry VI. began his reign by creating thirty-six knights; Edward IV. thirty-two. Edward VI. was himself knighted by Somerset before his Coronation. There was not time to create Knights of the Bath

ceremonially, and after the banquet a number of gentlemen were admitted Knights Bachelors instead. These took part in "royall justes" held on the morrow. Elizabeth's Coronation also was followed by tournaments.

James I., within six weeks of his entrance into England, bestowed knighthood on 237 persons. A satirical paper was set on the door of St. Paul's offering to teach a new art of memory to enable people to recollect the names of this new minor nobility.

Charles II.'s Coronation on St. George's Day, 1661, was preceded by "the restauration of the most Ancient and most Renowned Order of St. George, called the Garter," at Windsor, eight days before. Next came a creation of Knights of the Bath. Sir Edward Walker (Garter) gives the following account :—

Attended by their esquires and pages, those who were to receive the accolade proceeded to Henry's VII.'s Chapel and heard Evensong. Returning, they reposed themselves in the Painted Chamber and other places where their lodgings were prepared. Having supped under their respective escutcheons, they were conducted to their chambers,

"where they were lodged in Palletts covered with Red Say, each haveing a demi-tester without Curtaines of the same stuffe and an Escocheon of Armes on every Tester. At the ffoote of every Pallett (which were sett at equall distance from each other) was a Bathing Tubb covered without and within with 20 or fower and twenty ells of ffine Linnen, with a crosse hoope over it Covered with Red Say, and a Carpett at the side of it. The Roomes being voyded, each Bathed himselfe more or less as hee thought fitt and so went to rest.

"Early the next Morning all sorts of Musick with Druñes and Trumpetts bid them good Morrow. Being risen they apparrelled themselves in Cordiliers or Hermitts habitts, and so betweene their two Esquires and their Pages after them and the officers of Armes in their Coates before them, they proceeded to Henry the 7th Chappell where being disposed in Order (the seates being not sufficient to hold them) they stood before the Stalls against their Armes placed therein."

Then entered the Lord Steward, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, the Earl Marshal, and Lord Chamberlain; and sitting on five chairs before the altar, ordered the King's commission to be read. The Heralds then brought the new Knights up, six at a time, and after three reverences, Garter read the Admonition and Norroy held the Book for them to kiss.

"Right Deare Brethren, great Worshipp be this Noble Order unto every of you. You shall love and dread God above all things, you shall be steadfast in the faith of Christ, you shall love the King your Soveraigne Lord, and him and his right defend to your power. You shall defend Widowes, Maydens, and Orphans in their right. You shall suffer no extortion so farr as you may, nor sitt in place where any wrongfull Iudgment shall be given to your knowledge. And of as great honour be this Order unto you as ever it was to any of your kinne, projenitores or others."

After service, the Knights returned, divested themselves, and put on, over white satin suits, their surcoats of crimson taffeta lined with white, and mantles of the same, having cordons of white silk and knops of red silk and gold, white gloves, boots, hats, and feathers.

Thus they dined, and afterwards took horse, and with drums, trumpets, and heralds before them, attended by squires and pages carrying sword and belt upwards, with spurs hanging from the hilt, proceeded to the banqueting House, where the King sate under the Cloth of Estate.

Advancing with three obeisances, they were knighted, six and six, with full ceremonies, their swords being hung round their necks, and the riband with the Order. To save time, the heel of each was touched merely with a spur.

Thence returning to the chapel, they entered it with three reverences, and "after solemn service and Anthems," they were brought up, six and six, to offer their swords on the Altar, the Bishop of London receiving them, and admonishing them of their oath,

and to use the swords to God's glory, the defence of the Gospel, the maintenance of their Sovereign's right and honour, and the upholding of justice and equity.

Then they redeemed each his sword with a golden angel. At the chapel door stood the King's Master Cook with white apron, and in front of him a little table covered with a linen cloth, who reminded the Knights that, if they broke their oath, "I must hack off yor Spurrs from yor heeles, as vnworthy of this dignity, which will be a great dishonour to you, which God forbid."

The Order of the Bath afterwards fell into abeyance till the Georgian period. It was revived in 1725, as a regular military Order of thirty-six Companions, but, in imitation of the Scottish Order of the Thistle, on what may be called a Presbyterian plan, having a Grand Master, a Dean, Genealogist, King of Arms, Usher, etc., but no Prelate. The Dean received the swords of the Knights on the altar of Henry VII.'s Chapel, where their vigil was henceforth to take place instead of before the Confessor's Shrine. Every 20th of October, the anniversary of George I.'s Coronation, a procession and solemn service was to take place in the chapel; but the special creation at Coronations ceased.

The first Knight created under the new statutes was William, Duke of Cumberland, afterwards "the Butcher," who, as one who knew her well tells us, was an object of peculiar historic detestation to Queen Victoria. Being but four years old, he was excused the ceremonial Bath, but he presented his little sword at the altar.

The King's Vigil

The King was formerly directed to prepare for his consecration by fasting (on the previous Wednesday, Friday and Saturday) and meditation, and the Abbot of Westminster, as *regis eruditor*, was both to explain to

him the ceremonials and to warn him to shrive and cleanse his conscience "before the hooly anoynting."[1] He was also in the Middle Ages, like the Knights of the Bath, ceremonially "bayned." James II. and his Queen slept overnight at St. James's "for the greater convenience of performing their devotions." The 1626 rubrick directs that, the evening before the Coronation, the King is to be "put in mind wholy to give himself to contemplation and prayer," and the heads of his meditation, from *Liber Regalis*, were delivered to him by Bishop Laud. In 1689, instead of these directions, and in place of the pre-Reformation Divine Service and Mass heard by the King—Henry IV. heard three, and entered Westminster Hall "with ostentatious unpunctuality"—a special form of Morning Prayer, based on James II.'s accession form, was appointed to be performed at Whitehall and at Westminster, whereat it was "very fit and congruous" that the Sovereign should be present, "and so begin that glorious day with him by whom Kings Reign." The prelates and clergy who were to "bear any part in the great Solemnity" were also desired to join in these devotions. Unfortunately, this preparatory office has not been ordered at any subsequent Coronation. It is printed by Dr. Wickham Legg.[2]

Louis XVI. of France, before communicating, entered a small pavilion, where he confessed. Henry III. of Germany, it is said, never placed the crown on his head without previous confession.

One may note in the statutes of the Spanish Order corresponding to our Bath that the Knight is "not to keep company but with martiall men and souldiers . . . ; not to make any account if he be mockt, scorned or railed on by anybody, but to have all his carriage discreet and grave, and wholly measured by the levell of honesty."

[1] Our first Hanoverian King could not speak English, and the service had to be explained to him in Latin.

[2] *Three Coronation Orders*, pp. 10–14.

He is not to complain "of wounds by him received in war, neither is to vaunt of his valour and manhood." [1]

Froissart describes the boy King, Charles VI. of France, keeping vigil through the night in the Church of Our Lady of Rheims that he might receive knighthood and kingship. Next day, before the altar, he knighted his young Companions, who sate through the Coronation on low benches at his feet.

For Queen Victoria's Jubilee service the officials, out of compliment to the Order, draped the majestic church everywhere with (as Mr. Somers Clarke, the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, describes the effect) Bath-red baize, looking like cold blood, with a spotty and mean pattern. "The proper guardians of the Abbey," Mr. Somers Clarke severely remarks, "are turned out." [2] But things were very different under enlightened supervision in 1902.

[1] *Theater of Honour.*
[2] *Nineteenth Century*, September 1901.

EXCURSUS H

THE ABBEY AND ST. EDWARD'S SHRINE

The Kings of France have all been "sacred" at Rheims, but "the Chapel Peculiar of our Palace at Westminster" was not always the scene of English Coronations. Seven Saxon Princes were inaugurated at Kingston-on-Thames, if we include Alfred's son Edward; but Langtoft says at "London, at saynt Poules took he y^{e} croune." Edgar and Elfrida were crowned by Dunstan at Pentecost, 973, at St. Peter's, Bath (Acheman's "Chester"); Hardicanute probably at Oxford; Harold II. at St. Paul's. But "the general seat of the Saxon Coronations was the sanctuary of the House of Cerdic, the Cathedral of Winchester" (Stanley). Here were crowned Alfred the Great, St. Edward the Confessor, and, a second time on his return from captivity, Richard the Lion Heart. The star of the old English capital began to pale from that day before its Norman rival. The minsters of Gloucester and York have also witnessed the consecration of Kings.

In 1066, just before his death, the Confessor, thinking perhaps of Rheims, applied to Nicholas II. for a Bull making the Abbey Church which he had dedicated to St. Peter on the Thames, near London, the established place of regal constitution and Coronation. Henceforth Westminster Abbey was "the head, crown, and diadem of the kingdom," not simply because of a papal rescript, but as containing the shrine of St. Edward, whose name and memory became the type of historic continuity and religious conservatism, the symbol (though never have

we had a King with less of the John Bull characteristics in him) of all that is Old English. The "Conquestor" —which does not mean Conqueror—deemed it politic to be crowned "beside the grave of the last hereditary Saxon King," the heir of Cerdic.

When Rufus was crowned, a Norman hierarchy had displaced all the Saxon Bishops except one, and Wulfstan was now declared incapable of retaining office because he could not speak French.

"The old man, down to this moment compliant even to excess, was inspired with unusual energy. He walked from St. Catherine's Chapel straight into the Abbey. The King and the prelates followed. He laid his pastoral staff on the Confessor's tomb before the high altar. First he spoke in Saxon to the dead King: 'Edward, thou gavest me the staff. To thee I return it.' Then, with the few Norman words that he could command, he turned to the living King: 'A better than thou gave it me—take it if thou canst.' It remained fixed in the solid stone, and he was left at peace in his see" (Stanley).

The "translation of King Edward," marked in our Calendar against October 13, is his second translation, in 1269, when Henry III. removed his reliques to their present resting-place, Henry's own body being afterwards laid in the coffin which the Confessor's body had made sacred.[1] This King, who prided himself on his descent from Alfred, and was as pious as Henry II. had been the reverse, determined to make his abode beside St. Edward's tomb. His sons were the first Princes since the Conquest to be called by the old Saxon names, and the eldest, born at Westminster, and christened after the Confessor, was "the first of that long series of 'Edwards' which . . . is the only Royal name that constantly reappears to assert its unchanging hold on the affections of the English people." Dean Stanley thinks that the rebuilding of St. Denys' Abbey, near Paris, may have suggested

[1] The Coronation takes place in the old chapel of the Benedictines, the altar of which is dedicated to St. Peter. This chapel was once shut in on all four sides. As it encroaches upon the nave, the church outside the screen is properly called the "west nave."

to Henry III. the idea of a place of royal sepulture. He resolved to rebuild "the abbay of Londoun," and, with his passionate addiction to art, determined that the "new minster" should be

"incomparable for beauty, even in that great age of art. . . . Unlike most cathedrals, it was built entirely at the cost of the Crown. The Royal Abbey, as in the Confessor's time so in Henry's, is absolutely a royal gift." St. Edward became its patron saint, "almost to the exclusion of St. Peter. For him the Shrine was prepared, as the centre of all this magnificence. It was erected, like all the shrines of great local saints, at the east end of the altar. By a new and strange arrangement . . . the high altar was moved westward to its present central position. A mound of earth, the last funeral 'tumulus' in England, was erected between this and the Lady Chapel, and on its summit was raised the tomb in which the body of the Confessor was to be laid. On each side of it were statues of the Confessor and St. John as the mysterious pilgrim. . . . The arches underneath were ready for the patients who came to ensconce themselves there for the sake of receiving from the sacred corpse within the deliverance from the 'King's Evil' which the living sovereign was believed to communicate by his touch."

Henry VIII. moved the Confessor's bones, but Mary restored them to their place. Though despoiled of all its treasures, the Shrine is almost the only tomb of a canonized saint in England which was not demolished by a ruthless iconoclasm. Somerset meditated the destruction of the Abbey itself.

While, then, the Kings of France were laid to rest round the sepulchre of Dagobert, but crowned at Rheims, our Kings for centuries were "deposed" where they had been consecrated. Here sleep (not counting the East Anglian King Sebert and his Queen Ethelgoda, *c.* 616) the Confessor, Henry III., Edward III., Richard II., Henry V., Edward V., Henry VII., Mary Tudor, Elizabeth (in the same grave with her sister), and Mary of Scotland. And of Queens consort, Eleanor of Castille, Philippa of Hainault, Anne of Bohemia, Elizabeth of York, Anne of Cleves, and Katherine Parr, besides

many other royal personages, including Rupert of the Rhine. Not Henry VI., though he measured his own grave on the pavement—"Forsooth, forsooth, here will we lie." It is indeed an "acre sown" with richest, royallest seed. And moralists have seized the contrast between coronation and burial, pointing out that each King, at any rate formerly, has passed over his own grave to take his crown. In the early Eastern Empire it is said that, after his Coronation, the architects of the Imperial monuments approached the Emperor, and, presenting specimens of various marbles, inquired which he would choose for his own sepulchre.

Besides being the place of the Coronation and of the Burial of our Princes, Westminster Abbey contained also the Treasury of England, that Norman Chapel of the Pyx, in the eastern cloister, whose ancient double door locked by seven great keys has lately been opened to the public. "Here it was that, probably almost immediately after the Conquest, the Kings determined to lodge their treasure under the guardianship of the inviolable Sanctuary which St. Peter had consecrated and the bones of the Confessor had sanctified. . . . Hither were brought the most cherished possessions of the State, the Regalia of the Saxon Monarchy, the Black Rood of St. Margaret from Scotland, the Cross of St. Neot from Wales, the Sceptre or Rod of Moses, the Ampulla of Henry IV." (Stanley).

In 1303, however, the royal hoard was stolen by a monk, who concealed it in the tangled hemp grass growing over the graves and sown for this object. Remains of the skin of a fair-haired, ruddy-complexioned man, to be detected on the passage-door, and similar vestiges on other doors, point to a grim vengeance. Thenceforth only the Regalia, together with sacred reliques, treaties and the Pyx, were kept at the Abbey. Henry VIII. transferred the most costly of them to the Tower. Early in the Great Rebellion, the Parliament resolved to seize all the Crown jewels, and the Chapter

of Westminster finally, under a threat of force, delivered up everything left with them except the most sacred objects. All else was, after the King's death, "totally broken and defaced." On the eve of a Coronation the Regalia are deposited in the personal custody of the Dean.

As the French spoke of Charlemagne's crown, the Bohemians of that of St. Wenceslas, the Norwegians of St. Olaf's, the Turks of the sword of Othman, and as that sceptre which Clytemnestra in her dream saw Agamemnon majestically bearing had descended from king to king in the dynasty of Argos (*Iliad*, ii. 100), so the English called all the principal regalls, even the Coronation Chair, after the beloved name of St. Edward. "The Sceptre with the dove was a reminiscence of Edward's peaceful days after the expulsion of the Danes; the gloves were a perpetual reminder of the abolition of the Danegelt—a token that the King's hands should be moderate in taking taxes. The ring was the ring of the 'Pilgrim.' The coronation robe of Edward was solemnly exhibited in the Abbey twice a year, at Christmas, and on the festival of its patron saints, St. Peter and St. Paul" (Stanley). With a more actual continuity Charles I. was invested at Holyrood in 1633 with the "robes royall of King James the Fourth." Saxon memories were further preserved by the oath, ministered till 1689, to maintain the laws, customs and franchises granted "by the glorious King Edward," by the crowns of Alfred and Edith and the Gospels of Athelstan.

The Stone of Fortune.—None the less the Abbey was felt to lack the mystical associations possessed by some foreign sanctuaries and Coronation rites. This want was made good by the sacred Chrism received from heaven by St. Thomas of Canterbury (see p. 64), and by the acquisition of the *Regale Scotiæ*, the Stone of Fate. Westminster was to be an English Scone. Edward I., according to Walsingham, originally intended the "Liagh-fail" as a seat for the minister at Mass. But Edward II.,

and every succeeding English monarch, except, perhaps, Mary Tudor, has been crowned on it.[1] Cromwell himself had St. Edward's Chair brought into Westminster Hall for his own installation, and "set under a Prince-like canopy of State."

The legend of what Toland calls "the ancientest respected monument in the world" is well known—how Gathelus, son of Cecrops, the builder of Athens, wedded Pharaoh's daughter Scota, whose heart had been touched by Moses' preaching. To escape the Egyptian plagues, they removed (A.M. 2416) to Spain, taking the stone on which Jacob had slept at Bethel. Having built Compostella, Gathelus sate as King "upon his marble chair in Brigantia." His son Hiberus carried the stone into Ireland, and the Irish Kings were long inaugurated upon it on Tara's Hill. Thence, as a bond of union with the "Scots" of the mainland, it was taken, *c.* 330 B.C., by King Fergus (but his real date is *c.* A.D. 500) to Argyllshire, and in Iona it was again a royal seat of inauguration. In the Abbey of Iona solid history begins, for there can be little doubt that this is the stone pillow on which Columba laid his dying head. That Columba consecrated Fergus's successor Aidan upon it, however—that "first authentic Western consecration of a Christian Prince" (Martene)—is but conjecture. At any rate, King Kenneth found it (A.D. 850) at Dunstaffnage, and brought it to Scone, enclosing it in a wooden chair. On it for four centuries and a half successive descendants of Fergus were crowned, and Scone became the *sedes principalis* of the kingdom, "quhil ye tyme of Robert

[1] In the *Oxford Diocesan Magazine*, however, of June 1902, there is a very instructive paper, signed "P," which throws the most disquieting doubt on this tradition. St. Edward's Chair is not even mentioned officially as playing a part in any Coronation till Charles II., who is said to have been crowned in it, but anointed and vested in another. The writer really proves too much. Why, *e.g.*, was Cromwell inaugurated in it? We are told that Charles I. sate in the "old chair with Jacob's stone." "P" believes himself that Edward I. intended the Chair for Coronations.

Bruse ; in quhais tyme, besyde mony othir crueltis done be kyng Edward Lang Schankis, the said chiar of merbyll wes taikin be Inglismen and brocht out of Scone to London, and put into Westmonistar, quhaer it remains to our dayis." Deprived of their Stone, A.D. 1296, the Scots obtained from Rome a religious rite of coronation, and David was "the first crowned and anointed King of Scotland." They did not cease to covet its return ; but, though Edward III. restored the holy Rood, the Londoners would not let the fatal Stone go North again. There are several forms of the lines which prophesied

> "The Scots shall govern and the sceptre sway
> Where'er this Stone they find and its dread sound obey."—

a prediction not fulfilled till James VI. and I. The "dread sound" was a groaning noise made by the Stone when the rightful heir to the throne sate upon it.

Edward I. dedicated the Stone to the Confessor, and placed it by his altar. He had a chair made for it in 1300, an intended bronze design—certainly not that, as chroniclers asserted, of Kenneth's ninth-century chair—being copied in wood at a cost of a hundred shillings, with 13s. 4d. more for carving, painting, and gilding two small libbards, and £1, 19s. 7d. for a step at the foot (not the present one), for painting and gilding, and for a chair-cover. The ancient diapering and gesso has long disappeared, and the four remaining blazoned shields were stolen in 1821 ; but there are faint traces of the mosaic inlay and of a painted figure ; there are marks also of handles at either end of the Stone. The lions were regilt for George IV., and one of them refaced. New crockets were added and the framework braced. The "Scotch Chair" has usually been covered at Coronations with cloth of gold, but King Edward in 1902 directed that it should be seen as it is. It has been much dishonoured by names being cut all over it. There is a picture of it in the Norman-French version of *Liber Regalis*.

The Carlovingian Kings of France were crowned seated in the Chair of Dagobert (*ob.* 638). Mr. Jones aptly quotes the Talmudic Esther, where it is related that Shisak, King of Egypt, carried away Solomon's throne, that Sennacherib got possession of it and restored it to Hezekiah, but Pharaoh-Necho once more captured it. From Egypt, however, it again passed to Babylon, and then to Shushan, where Ahasuerus (Xerxes) "desired to sit upon the throne of Solomon." However, he eventually had one made for himself.

When Charlemagne's tomb was opened in 1165, his body was found fully vested and seated on a throne, which is still preserved at Aix. In his hand was the imperial sceptre, and on his knees the Holy Evangelists.

Buonaparte said cynically that a throne was merely "boards covered with velvet"; yet he strove to give his own Coronation all the impressiveness which could be obtained from religious rite and historic adjunct—only he was crowned in Paris.

The title "Jacob's Stone" seems only to date back a few hundred years. Flatterers of James I. made much at his Coronation of the coincidence of name. It is natural to suppose that it is a reminiscence of Columba's stone pillow and of his dying vision of angelic glories, blended with the legend of the Abbey itself. St. Peter appeared to a holy man of Worcester, bidding him charge King Edward to found a Benedictine convent, which should be "a gate of heaven, the ladder of prayer, whence those who serve St. Peter there shall by him be admitted into Paradise." Earlier was the vision of the fisherman Edric, who saw the Apostle himself consecrating the church, and awful shapes going up and down between earth and heaven with sweet odours and tapers. Dean Stanley says: "It was the hope of the Founder that on St. Peter's Isle of Thorns was planted a ladder on which angels might be seen ascending and descending from the courts of heaven."

"The Coronation Chair," Dean Stanley remarks,

" is the one primæval monument which binds together the whole empire. The iron rings, the battered surface, the crack which has all but rent its solid mass asunder, bear witness to its long migrations. It is thus embedded in the heart of the English monarchy—an element of poetic, patriarchal, heathen times, which, like Araunah's rocky threshing-floor in the midst of the Temple of Solomon, carries back our thoughts to races and customs now almost extinct."

The Scottish Regalia remained locked up in a chest in Edinburgh Castle from the Union till 1818. When they were brought to light Sir Walter Scott was an eager spectator. "Great Harry," that matchless jewel which was worn by Mary on her bosom when wedded to the Dauphin, was not one of the "Honours of the Scottish Crown." Those "honouris" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had thrilling adventures and vicissitudes such as never befell the heirlooms of England, which were often pledged in "broking pawn," but, apart from the iconoclasm of 1649, had few romantic experiences.[1]

When Lord Chancellor Seafield, in 1707, touched the Act of Union with the Sceptre of Scotland to ratify it, he returned that jewel to the clerk with the words, "There is an end to an auld sang." The Government long thought it dangerous for Scotsmen to see the emblems of their ancient independence. Scott told Fanny Kemble that when, in 1818, the Regalia were disinterred, a venerable lady of ninety years, who feared she might not live till they were publicly exhibited, entreated permission to view them. He himself took her into the room, when, "tottering hastily forward from his support, she fell on her knees before the crown, and, clasping and wringing her wrinkled hands, wailed over it as a mother over her dead child." The scene moved Scott's patriotic sensibilities immensely.

[1] See Jones, *Crowns and Coronations*, chapter iii., "The Regalia of England and Scotland."

The Abbey is a royal peculiar, extra-parochial and extra-diocesan. For a short time it was a cathedral—not, however, at the date referred to by Shakespeare [1] —and Edward VI. was brought to it by *Bishop* Thirlby. Convocation met till lately within its precincts under polite protest from the Dean. At Coronations, the Chapter is entitled to all the furniture, hangings, cushions, carpets, and so forth, within the Quire. Also to a hundred simnels and a hogshead of wine. The royal robes were of old given to favoured churches for copes or altar-cloths. Charles II.'s were given to play-actors. George IV.'s came mostly, after his death, to the hammer. But this is not true of the magnificent Robe of State which has lately been presented to King George, and will be worn by His Majesty on June 22, 1911.

[1] *Henry V.*, Pt. II., i., sc. 2.

EXCURSUS I

THE CONSECRATING PRELATE

Rulers have in every age and land, Gentile, Jewish or Christian, been regarded as deputies of a Divine authority. St. Paul calls the heathen *basileus*, "God's minister of service" (Rom. xiii. 4). But the Roman Emperors were for centuries supposed to be rather chief magistrates and military commanders than Kings, and a religious consecration to office did not begin directly Christianity became the established religion. Theodosius, before his admission to the Imperial dignity, saw in a dream Bishop Meletius putting on him a crown and a royal robe. But Leo the Great (A.D. 457) is the first who is recorded to have been actually crowned with religious rites by a Prelate. "This appears," says sneering Gibbon, "to be the first origin of a ceremony which all the Christian Princes of the world have since adopted, and from which the clergy have deduced the most formidable consequences." Dr. Brightman [1] thinks that Leo I. is a mistake for Leo II. (A.D. 473), whose Coronation was solemnised by the patriarch Acacius. From this time onwards Coronation was a Church rite. Anastasius, the next Emperor, was "chaired," as of old, by the soldiers, but he told them and the shouting people, "It is plain that human sovereignty depends on the favour of the most high Glory." From 602 the inauguration took place in church.[2]

[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1901, p. 368.

[2] In the coronations in St. Sophia, the patriarch anointed the Emperor in the form of a cross, saying "Hagios," which the clergy and people thrice repeated. Then he crowned him, saying "Axios," which was also thrice repeated by the congregation (Palmer).

The Lord Primate of all England has the immemorial right to crown our Sovereigns and their Consorts. Edwy received his crown from Odo; Edgar and Ethelred from Dunstan. The Confessor, it is true, was crowned by both Primates, and at Harold II.'s Coronation Stigand was suspended, though the Bayeux tapestry shows a figure labelled "Stigand Archbishop." Again, at the Conqueror's investiture, Langtoft's poem says that "Sir Stigand was don doun," and that Eldred, "Archbishope of York, gaf William the coroun," unchallenged. Others say that Stigand was invited to perform his office, but refused to bless a blood-stained invader. Eldred, "with greater worldly discretion, saw that it was needful to fall in with the times, and not oppose the will of God (Thierry). However, the Archbishops of York were thenceforth debarred from acting (Lanfranc suggesting that they might give the crown to some Scot or Dane approved by the Saxon Northerners) until Henry II. thought it safe to strike a blow at the throne of Canterbury in the person of Becket.

The rights of St. Augustine's See, however, had never really been doubted. When Harold I. (A.D. 1036) usurped the place of Hardicanute,

"some write that Elnothus, the archbishop of Canterbury, a man endued with all virtue and wisdom, refused to crown him; for when the king required the said archbishop that he might be of him consecrated—to whom only it did appertein to invest him with the crowne and scepter—the archbishop flatlie refused, and with an oth protested that he would not consecrate anie other for king so long as the queen's children lived. The scepter and crowne, I here lay downe vpon the altar, and neither do I denie nor deliuer them unto you; but I forbid by the apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of them presume to take the same awaie and deliuer them to you, or consecrate you for king" (Holinshed).

Henry I. was consecrated, three days after the tragical death of Rufus, by Thomas of York (probably) and

Maurice of London. Anselm was in exile, and there was no time to be lost. But the irregularity was not forgotten. Henry wished his second Consort, Adelis of Corwain, to be crowned by the Bishop of Salisbury instead of Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury. The latter, however, strode into the church, and, finding the King wearing his crown, demanded who had placed it there. Then, untieing the band under the King's chin, he lifted the crown from his head.

Henry II.'s coronation of his son Henry, at the age of fifteen, as his associate and successor, A.D. 1170, brought about a historic conflict. Becket was in exile, and, to his "derogacion and harme," his rival, Roger of Pont l'Évêque, Archbishop of York, performed the act at Westminster. "But an other auctor sayth that the kyng crowned Hēry his sone" (Fabyan). England was laid under an interdict, and the prelates who had taken part were excommunicated. Subsequently, the Prince was recrowned at Winchester, in 1172, by French Bishops, the See of Canterbury being vacant.

When John was crowned by Hubert of Canterbury, Geoffrey of York lodged a protest against the solemnity taking place in his absence.

Henry III.—John having died October 14, 1216—"vpon the daye of Symonde and Iude next ensuynge was crownyd at Glowceter of Peter than bisshop of Wynchester, Lewys, y^{e} French kynges sone, beynge than at Lyncolne" (Fabyan), and in possession of Westminster. Henry was ten years old. Only a fillet of gold was used (either because the Regalia had been lost in the Wash or to mark the provisional character of the rite), an edict being issued that no person should, for the space of one month, appear abroad without a chaplet in honour of the coronation. The rights of Canterbury were respected by the omission of the unction (though Maskell, following Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover, questions this, ii., p. xx) and of imposition of hands. At Pentecost, 1220, Henry was recrowned at

Westminster by Archbishop Langton with full ceremonial. "All the due services of the great feudatories were regularly performed, and it was made a sort of typical exhibition of the national restoration" (Stubbs). Henry had, the day before, laid the first stone of the new Lady Chapel, and the first offering on its altar was the Coronation Spurs.

Edward II.—Archbishop Winchelsey, who was out of the realm, consenting—was crowned by the Bishop of Winchester on "the sondaye in Quiquagesima, whiche is the xiiii daye after the closynge of Alleluya."

Henry VII. was crowned by Cardinal Bourchier "as Archbisshoppe of Caunterbure."

Edward VI. was the first King to be crowned out of communion with the Roman see (though with the Latin service and Mass), "Thomas, Lorde Archbishop of Canterburie and metropolitane of this reame, ministrying the deuine sacramentes and ceremonies."

Cranmer was held "unworthy" to perform the same office for Mary, who was crowned by Gardiner of Winchester.

At Elizabeth's accession, the See of Canterbury being vacant, its rights—London being in prison—devolved on the northern Primate, Heath, who, however, refused to officiate, as did all the other Marian Bishops, except Oglethorpe of Carlisle. He borrowed Bonner's robes. There were three Edwardian Bishops living, but they had been deprived, and would probably have scrupled at the ceremonious character of the rite.

Abbot, a Puritan, was Primate at Charles I.'s accession. D'Ewes says: "The Archbisshopp performed the ünction, which I doubted hee should not, by reason of suspicion of irregularitie, upon the unfortunate killing of a man, som few yeares since."

At the next coronation, about the end of the third Litany prayer, the venerable Juxon "(who by reason of his infirmity had vntill that time reposed himselfe in St. Edward's Chappell) came out, vested in an ancient Rich

Coape, and standing before the Altar began the versicle, Lift vp your hearts, etc." After the Second Oblation he retired, "haveing beyond expectation performed so great a part."

An earlier instance of decrepitude is that of Archbishop Ralph of Escures at the consecration of Adela of Louvain, Henry I.'s second consort. Being palsied, his place was to be taken by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, Treasurer and Justiciar of the realm. The Primate, seeing Roger take up the Crown, seized it with shaking hands, rage giving him strength, so that the consecrated symbol was but just saved from falling on the pavement.

When William and Mary were to be crowned, Sancroft's ambiguous commission to certain of his suffragans, empowering them to consecrate bishops, may have been taken as empowering others to crown the new sovereigns. A statute was passed (1 Gul. et Mariæ, cap. 6) enacting that the Oath, as altered, should be administered thenceforth by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York, "or any other Bishop of this Realme whom the King's Majesty shall appoint." William and Mary, however, were crowned by Compton of London, to which see the office had been secured by Lanfranc in the absence of the Primate of all England.

Sancroft may have remembered that Archbishop who crowned and did homage to Stephen, after making like oath to the Empress, and whose death shortly after was regarded by her adherents as the doom of infidelity.

It has not been the lot of any of our Archbishops to act the dramatic part of the high-priest Jehoiada, when he brought out the child-king Joash, the true heir, supposed to be murdered, but hidden from infancy,

"And they put upon him the crown, and gave him the testimony, and made him king: and Jehoiada and his sons anointed him: and they said, God save the king. Now when Athaliah heard the noise of the people running and praising the king, she came to the people into the house of the Lord. And she looked, and, behold, the king stood by his pillar at the entering in, and the

captains and the trumpets by the king; and all the people of the land rejoiced and blew with trumpets; the singers also played on instruments of musick, and taught to sing praise. Then Athaliah rent her clothes, and said, Treason, treason. Then Jehoiada the priest brought out the captains of hundreds that were over the host, and said, Have her forth between the ranks. . . . For the priest said, Slay her not in the house of the Lord. . . . And Jehoiada made a covenant between himself and all the people and the king, that they should be the LORD'S people."

Archbishop Howley crowned two Sovereigns. His demeanour was most solemn, reverent, and devout. The Rev. T. T. Lee, Vicar of Thame (A.D. 1750–1840), who knew His Grace intimately, records that, to the best of his belief, he took no food till the Communion was over. This was a common custom till quite recently among Scottish Presbyterians. (See Dr. G. W. Sprott's *Scottish Liturgies of James VI.*)

The Northern Primate has had, except in 1902, no special part in the Solemnity. In 1902 the functions of the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Bradley, were on account of his infirmity performed by Sub-dean Duckworth, except that the Dean administered the Sacrament of the Blood.

EXCURSUS K

"HALLOWING TO KING" AND "TO BISHOP"

A REGAL and an episcopal consecration are very much alike in their main features, especially as the King's Coronation is ordered in *Liber Regalis*. Both are to take place on a holy day. The Recognition of the King corresponds to the presentation of the Bishop-elect to the people in the Old Gallican Service, and in some respects to a Bishop's confirmation. Both take an Oath; both are consecrated during the Liturgy at the same point—viz., after the Nicene Creed and sermon; both are supported, or presented, by two Bishops. The Anointing is, in the Anglican rite, now disused in the case of a Bishop; but his consecration, like the King's consecration, is introduced by Litany, *Veni Creator*, and a consecratory preface. When our Bishops were anointed, it was, like our Kings, with chrism or balm. Next comes the delivery of the vestures (Alb, Dalmatic, Stole—not crossed on the breast—and Cope) of the Staff or Sceptre (*baculus*), and of the Holy Scriptures. There are traces in the regal Coronation of a laying on of hands. Ring and Crown correspond to ring and mitre. The rich gloves are common to both King and Bishop:—"hosyn and shone and copys and gloves lyke a bysshop" were worn by the child-King Henry VI. A kiss is exchanged with the consecrator: this in the Coronation Service must be distinguished from the kiss of homage. Kings at one time received a pectoral cross. Lights were carried before our Sovereigns in their procession, as before Prelates. Consecration in either case is followed by inthronization; and as Bishops use the style *Divinâ*

providentiâ and *Divino permissu*, so our Monarchs write themselves *Dei gratiâ*.

Nevertheless, there are some obvious distinctions to be made. The "character" imposed on Kings by their anointing was regarded anciently, Bishop Stubbs observes, as ineffaceable. There is, properly, no such thing as an "ex-rex," any more than there can be an ex-Bishop, though a Bishop may cease to be a diocesan, and a King may cease to reign. Yet a King without a kingdom cannot perform any valid kingly act, whereas a Bishop's laying on of hands or other pontifical action is valid and good, even though intrusive, irregular, and uncanonical. Contrariwise, an unconsecrated Bishop is, except for purely administrative functions, no Bishop at all, whereas an uncrowned monarch may be ruler *de jure* as well as *de facto*. Many Englishmen who took the highest and most mystical view, two centuries ago or less, of the Coronation rite considered their allegiance due, nevertheless, not to the monarch consecrated at Westminster by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but to an unaneled King over the water.

The "Divine Right of Kings," though in one obvious sense a "High-Church" doctrine, was maintained in the Middle Ages by the school of Dante in opposition to Clericalism and excessive Church pretensions. In its complete form it adds to the Divine claim of temporal government a lofty view of the sacredness of the regal office, especially as transmitted by hereditary succession through the first-born.

Eusebius (I., iii. 12) treats of the relation of prophets, priests, and kings under the old covenant to Him who is Arch-Prophet, Priest, and King. Not only those who were dignified with the high-priesthood, but the Kings also, in virtue of their anointing, became, he says, images of Christ, and were themselves called the Lord's Christs. This expression is applied to our Saxon Kings, as a familiar title, by the Council of Cealcyth, A.D. 787. "Unctus est Deus a Deo," writes St. Augustine.

"Unctum audis, Christum intellige: etenim Christus a chrismate." But a still higher title is applied to Kings in various Scriptures—that of Elohim.

In the Delivery of the Sword "faithfully serve Our Lord Jesus Christ" was, till King William IV., "faithfully represent." And the ancient Orders added "Whose image thou bearest."

As regards the cases of Kings being crowned a second time, the repeated or supplementary rite never, according to Bishop Stubbs. involved repetition of the unction. He says of Henry II. :—

"Henry held a solemn Court and wore his crown in state on Whitsunday at St. Edmund's, the second recorded Coronation day of the reign. This ceremony was a revival of the great Courts held by the Conqueror and his sons on the great festivals, Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, at Gloucester, Westminster and Winchester, the three chief cities of the South. At such gatherings all the great men attended, both witan and warriors, clerk and lay. The king heard the complaints of his subjects, and decided their suits with the advice of his wise men ; the feudal services were solemnly rendered; a special peace was set. . . . The ceremony of Coronation was not, as is sometimes supposed, a repetition of the formal rite of initiation by which the king at his accession received the authorisation of God through the hands of the bishops. The character so impressed was regarded as indelible, and hence the only way of disposing of a bad king was to kill him. That rite, the solemn consecration and unction, was incapable of being repeated. The crown was, however, on these occasions placed on the king's head in his chamber by the Archbishop of Canterbury with special prayers, and the Court went in procession to mass, where the king made his offering and afterwards the barons did their services, as at the real Coronation. These Courts had been given up by Stephen. Henry, however, renewed the custom."—(*The Early Plantagenets*, 1877, p. 45.)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE PLANTAGENET OATH

THE Coronation Oath in French is thus given in the Salisbury *Red Register* :—

"Sire volez vous graunter & garder & par vre serment confermer al poeple Dengleterre les leys & les custumes a eux gñtees par les anciens Rois dengleterre vos predecessours droiturels & devoutz a dieu & nommement les leis les custumes & les franchises gñtees al Clergie & al poeple par le Glorious Roi seint Edward vre predecessour

"*Respons.* Je le gñt & promet

"Sire garderez vous a dieu & a saincte eglise & al Clergie & a poeple pees & acord en dieu entierement selong vre poer

"*Respons.* Je le garderai

"Sire ferrez vous faire en touz vos iugements ouele & droit Justice & descrecion en misericorde & verite a vre poer

"*Respons.* Je le ferrai

"Sire gñterez vous atenir & garder les leis & les custumes droitureles les qeles la coñunaute de vre Roialme auera eslu & les defenderez & aforcerez al honur de dieu a vre poer

"*Respons.* Je le gñt & promet

"Sire tutes cestes choses auant ditẽs vous garderez & tendrez a vre poer si dieu vous aide & ses seintz

"*Respons.* Oil si dieu me aide & ses seintz."

I am indebted for the above to A. R. Malden, Esq., M.A., of the Episcopal Registry, Salisbury.

APPENDIX II

CORONATION OF THE KING OF HUNGARY

The English Coronation rite is "the only remaining office in Christendom where the full rites of the anointing and all the details of solemn investiture are still extant." The following ceremony in the Coronation of the present venerable Emperor of Austria as King of Hungary may therefore be of interest.

The special correspondent of the *Times*, writing from Pesth, June 10, 1867, describes the splendid cavalcade (including the Bishops on horseback), and goes on :—

"Preceded by the great officers of State comes Francis Joseph, with the crown of Hungary upon his head and the ancient Coronation robe falling over his shoulders, and seated on a magnificent white charger, caparisoned in cloth of gold, which he manages with a grace and dexterity worthy of so distinguished a horseman. The King rides into the square amidst an ovation which he cannot but feel he has a right to expect, and, as he passes the tribune where his lovely consort is watching the scene, like a *preux chevalier*, he bows his head and salutes her. Then comes the most interesting part of the day. As the procession emerges from the side-streets and files into the square, in the centre of which stands the Coronation mound, all are drawn up in line, with the horses' heads facing inwards, and when the square is thus completely filled, a more magnificent *coup d'œil* could not be effected, for just then the sun shone out in all its glory, and lighting up the variegated dresses and plumes, the armour and jewels of the hundreds there assembled, it produced a dazzling effect upon the eyes, and an impression which cannot easily be effaced. Then there was a slight pause, and a reverberation as of thunder. It is the roll of cheering that greets Francis Joseph as, emerging from the procession, and leaving all his attendants behind, he puts spurs to his horse and gallops on to the Coronation hill. Here he pauses for a

moment while he reins in his steed. And now we have the spectacle before us which we have all come so far to see. The King of Hungary himself, in all his majesty, is in the centre of his subjects. He pauses for a moment, and then draws his sword—that ancient sword which the venerable Archbishop had placed in his hands in the great cathedral—and with a clear, distinct motion he cuts towards the east; then, wheeling his horse sharply round, he cuts towards the west; then, towards the south; then, again wheeling, he cuts towards the north. There is another pause: the sound of the cannon's roar announces that the ancient kingdom of Hungary has now a free constitution and an acknowledged lawful King; and Francis Joseph again wheels round and gallops down the hill, and as soon as he reaches his attendants he sheathes the sword, and the Coronation scene is over."

APPENDIX III[1]

THE MANNER OF THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST ON THE FEAST OF THE PURIFICATION (FEB. 2) $162\frac{5}{6}$

Bishops

to be nominated and appointed by y^e^ Arch-Bishop of Canterbury his Grace on the day of his Ma^ties^ Coronation for y^ese^ Services following

A Bishop to be appointed to preach.

A Bishop to be appointed to read y^e^ petition of the Bishops.

Two Bishops, or two of the Quire to be appointed to sing y^e^ Letany in y^e^ Quire.

A Bishop to be appointed to read the Gospell.

A Bishop to read the Epistle.

The Bishop that reads the Gospell must provide Bread and Wine for y^e^ King to offer at y^e^ Communion.

A Bishop to carry S. Edward's Chalice.

A Bishop to carry the Paten.

The Bishops of Duresme and Bath to support the King.

Two other Bishops to hold the towell before y^e^ King at y^e^ Communion.

[1] Extracted by the kind permission of Canon Christopher Wordsworth, in as brief a form as possible, from his book *The Coronation of King Charles the First* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1892). The directions for the Coronation of the Queen are here omitted, as it did not take place. The 1626 Order presents a very careful and conservative service on the lines of *Liber Regalis*, but in English.

The Preparation

The Apparatus in the Church of Westminster

There is a Stage to be set up four square close to y^e^ foure high pillars, betweene y^e^ Quire and y^e^ Altar. The stage is to be spread with Tapestrie and to have railes about it richly covered. It is also to have Staires out of the Quire up to it, and down to the Altar from it.

There is a Throne of State to be erected on y^e^ said Stage for the King, adorned Pallis, quissinis, sericis & pretiosissimis, with a Chaire before it.

There is also another Chaire to be set below by y^e^ Altar on y^e^ South side for the King; a Faldstoole and cushens to pray at, and seats for y^e^ L^ds^ and B^ps^.

And all the Pavement is to be spread w^th^ Carpets, and Cushens to be laid.

The person that is to annoynt the King is the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

The place is the Church of Westmin: to which it is, by diuers Charters granted to be Locus constitutionis et Coronationis Regiæ et Repositorium Regalium.

The time if it be possible some Sonday or holiday.

There is also a Traverse to be set up in S. Edwards Chappell for the King to disrobe himself in after y^e^ ceremonies of his Coronation be ended.

The Evening Before the Coronation

The Evening before the Coronation after the King's coming from the Tower to his Palace at Westminster, he is to be put in mind wholy to give himself to contemplation and prayer. The heads of w^ch^ are in y^e^ King's booke.[1]

It appertaineth by office unto y^e^ Abbot, or Deane of

[1] *i.e.*, the *Liber Regalis.*

Westminster to remember his Matie of this and all other observances.

Then is to be delivered unto his Maty the Tunica or Shirt of red silk, wth the places opened and looped, at which he is to be anointed ; wch shirt he is to weare over his owne, and according to which his owne shirt and his other apparrell is to be framed.

And in his praier let him imitate ye Wisdom of Solomon : To whom in ye beginnings of his Reign, when God said in ye Vision of ye Night, Ask what I shall give thee : He askt not for himself long life nor gold and silver, not victory over his enemies : but pray'd for those things wch God with great Readinesse might give, and Man receive wth greatest Advantage ; saying, Give thy Servt, O Ld, an understanding Heart to iudge thy people ; that I may discern between Good and Bad.

Let ye King therefore devoutly pray That ye divine providence, wch hath appointed him for ye Government of so great an empire, would vouchsafe to bestow upon him Justice and Pietie, and Prudence ; justice towards his subjects ; pietie towards God ; and prudence in ye government of his Kingdoms : That so being neither softened with favour, nor hardened with enmity, not allur'd with unreasonable Desires, nor discompos'd wth any other passion, he may steddily and uninterruptedly walk on in ye paths of these excellent virtues.

See an excellent prayer to this purpose in ye person of Solomon. Wisd. ix. 1–12.

The Morning Before the Coronation

It is to be provided that the Regalia, wch are S. Edwards Crown wth the residue of the Robes and the Oile for the anointing be readie upon ye Altar. And that the Crown Imperiall and other ye Robes Royall, wch the King is to weare after ye Rites of his Coronation be ended, be brought and laid ready in the Traverse of S

Edward Chappell: But these to be carried before y^e^ King.

1. The Regall.[1]
2. The Paten.
3. The Scepter w^th^ y^e^ Crosse.
4. The long Scepter.
5. The Rod w^th^ y^e^ Dove.
6. The Spurrs.

There is also to be cloth spread on a floore of boards from y^e^ palace-Hall-doore up to y^e^ Stage, for his Ma^ty^ to tread on all y^e^ way. Which is to be done, and y^e^ Cloth to be distributed by y^e^ heires of y^e^ Lord Beauchamp Almoner for y^e^ Coronation Day.

The Procession and Ordering of Ye Traine

The Arch-Bishops and Bishops of the Realme then present together w^th^ the Church and Quire of Westminster are to meet y^e^ King at the Palace gate in Procession-wise. The Lord Chancellor (if he be a Bishop) is to beare y^e^ Regal immediately before y^e^ King. Before him y^e^ Lord Treasurer (if he be a Bishop) is to beare y^e^ Paten.

Otherwise his Ma^ty^ is to assign two Bishops to carry them, such as he liketh to name.

Then Tres Duces sive Comites Regni excellentiores et maximi, qui jure propinquitatis Stipi Regiæ proxime videntur pertinere, are to carry :—

1. The Scepter w^th^ y^e^ Crosse.
2. The long Scepter.
3. The Rod w^th^ y^e^ Dove.

Then three Earles w^th^ three Swords—

1. The Earle of Chester y^e^ Curtana.
2. The Earle of Huntingdon y^e^ 2^d^.
3. The Earle of Warwick y^e^ 3^rd^.

[1] *i.e.*, the Chalice.

Before them Unus de Magnatibus ad hoc per Regem assignatus is to carry the Spurrs.

The King is to goe under a Canopy of purple silk borne by the Barons of the Cinque Ports, foure of them at each staffe.

The King is to be supported by y^e^ Bishops of Durrham and Bath.

Abbas sive Decanus Westmonasteriensis semper Regis lateri adhærendo præsens debet esse, pro dicti Regis informatione in his quæ dictæ Coronationis concernunt solenitatem, ad ipsum vero hoc officium solummodò spectat.

The Entrance into the Church

The King to be received into the Church w^th^ this Antheme—

Psal. cxxii. I was glad, &c. Behold O Lord our Protectour and looke upon y^e^ face of thine anointed; for one day in thy Courts is better than a thousand.

Psal. lxxxiiii. Quam dilecta, &c.

The King thus passing up the body of y^e^ Church and so through the Quire goeth up the Staires and is placed in the Chaire of State and there he reposeth himself.

The Coronation Beginneth

The King being so set, y^e^ Arch-Bishop (præcedente Mariscallo Regni) goes to every of the foure sides of the Stage, and at every of them speakes to the people his verbis.

S^rs^ Heere I present unto y^u^ King Charles the Rightfull Inheritour of the Crown of this Realme. Wherefore all you, that be come this day to doe yo^r^ homage and service and bounden duty; be ye willing to doe y^e^ same?

Or thus—

Will you take this worthy Prince, Charles right Heire of the Realm and have him to be yo^r^ King and become Subjects unto him and submit yourselves to his commandments?

Or thus—

Sirs, Heere I present unto y^u^ King Charles, the rightfull and undoubted Heire by the Lawes of God and man to the Crown and Royall Dignity of this Realme, whereupon you shall understand y^t^ this day is prefixed and appointed by all y^e^ Peeres of y^e^ land for the Coronation, Inunction and Consecration of y^e^ said most Excellent Prince: Will y^e^ serve at this time and give yo^r^ will and assents to y^e^ said Coronation, Inunction and Consecration?

This while the King standing from his Chaire of State turneth himself to every of y^e^ foure sides of the Stage as the Arch-Bishop is at every of them speaking to the people.

And y^e^ People signifie their willingnesse by acclamation all in one voice answering—

God Save King Charles.

Then y^e^ Quire singeth this Antheme:

Let thy hand be strengthened and thy right hand be exalted. Let justice and iudgement be the preparation of thy Seat; and mercie and trueth goe before thy face. Alleluia.
Psal. lxxxix. Misericordias Dei.

While y^e^ Anthem is singing y^e^ Arch-B^p^ goeth down to y^e^ Altar and revesteth himself there.

The First Oblation

The Archb^p^ being ready at the Altar the King supported by two Bishops as before, and attended by y^e^ Deane of Westminster goeth down from his Chaire of State to y^e^ steps of y^e^ Altar, where upon carpets and cushens y^e^ King maketh his first oblation:

Pallium unum & unam libram auri; complendo praeceptum ejus, qui dixit: Non appareas vacuus in conspectu Domini Dei tui.

After y^e^ King hath offered he goeth to his Fald-stool on y^e^ right hand of y^e^ Altar and kneeleth down.

Archi-Episcopus hanc orationem pronunciat :

O God who do'st visit those that are humble, and do'st comfort us by thy Holy Spirit, send down thy grace upon this thy Servant Charles that by him we may feele thy presence among us, through Iesus Christ. Amen.

Then doth y^e^ Sermon begin, w^ch^ the King heareth sitting in his chaire of State on y^e^ side of the Altar beneath.

The Sermon being done y^e^ Arch-Bishop goeth to y^e^ King and asketh his Ma^ties^ willingnesse to take y^e^ Oath usually taken by his Predecessours. The King sheweth himself willing thereunto.

The Arch-B^p^ ministreth these Questions, and the King answereth them severally, viz. :—

Arch-B^p^. S^r^, Will you grant and keep, and so by y^r^ oath confirme to the People of England the Lawes and Customes to them granted by the Kings of England yo^r^ lawfull and religious Predecesso^rs^ ; And namely y^e^ Laws, Customes, and Franchises granted to y^e^ Clergy by y^e^ glorious King St. Edward yo^r^ Predecessour, according to y^e^ laws of God, y^e^ true profession of the Gospell established in this Kingdome and agreeing to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient Customes of this Realm ?

Rex. I grant and promise to keep them.

Arch-B^p^. S^r^, will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely according to yo^r^ power both to God y^e^ Holy Church, y^e^ Clergy and y^e^ People ?

Rex. I will keep it.

Arch-B^p^. S^r^, will y^u^ to yo^r^ power cause law, iustice and discretion in mercie and truth to be executed in all your judgments ?

Rex. I will.

Arch-B^p^. S^r^, Will you grant to hold and keep the rightfull Customes w^ch^ y^e^ Commonalty of this yo^r^ Kingdome have ; And will y^u^ defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth ?

Rex. I grant and promise so to doe.

Sequitur Admonitio Episcoporum ad Regem : & legitur ab uno Episcoporum clarâ voce, sic dicendo :

Our Lord and King, We beseech you to pardon & to gra n & to preserve unto us & the Churches committed to our charge all Canonicall Priviledges, & due Law & iustice & to protect & defend us, as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be Protector and Defender of the Bishops & Churches under their Government.

The King answereth :

With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon ; and y^t I will preserve and maintaine to you and the Churches committed to yo^r charge all Canonical Priviledges and due law and iustice ; and that I will be yo^r Protector and Defender to my power by the assistance of God, as everie good King in his Kingdom ought in right to protect and defend the Bishops and Churches under their Government.

Then shall y^e King rise out of his Chaire and by them, y^t before assisted him, be led to y^e high Altar, where he shall make a solemne oath in y^e sight of all y^e people to observe y^e premises, & laying his hands upon the Booke shall say—

(*Iuramentum Regis*)

The things which I have heer promised I shall performe and keep ; So help me God and the contents of this Booke.

The Arch-Bishop beginneth y^e Hymne

Veni Creator Spiritus, etc.

And y^e Quire singeth it.

Come Holy Ghost eternall God, etc.

The Hymne ended the King kneeling at his Faldstoole y^e Arch-Bishop saith this prayer :

(*Te Invocamus Domine*)

We beseech thee, O Lord Holy Father Almighty and Everlasting God for this thy Servant Charles, that as at first thou broughtest him into y^e world by thy divine Providence, and through the flower of his youth hast preserved him unto this present day, so thou wilt evermore enrich him w^th the gifts of piety, fulfill him w^th the grace of truth & encrease him daily in all good in the sight of God & men, that he may ioyfully

receive the state of supreme Government by the gift of thy supernaturall grace, and being defended from all his enemies by y^e^ wall of thy mercie, he may happily governe the people committed to his charge, through Iesus Christ. Amen.

The Litany

After this Prayer beginneth the Letany, which is to be sung by two Bishops ; vel per duos Cantores.

Infra Litaniam hæc adjungitar pro Rege—

Ut presentem Famulum tuum Carolum in tuâ pietate confirmare justiciâ & sanctitate digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

At the end of the Letany shall be said these Prayers:

(*Omnipotens et sempiterne Deus*)

O Almighty and everlasting God Creatour of all things King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who didst cause thy faithfull servant Abraham to triumph over his enemies, didst give many victories to Moises and Josuah the governours of thy people, didst exalt thy lowly servant David unto y^e^ height of a kingdome, didst enrich Solomon w^th^ the unspeakable gift of wisdom and peace. Give eare, we beeseech thee unto our humble praiers, and multiply thy blessings upon this thy servant Charles, whome in lowly devotion we consecrate our King, that he being strengthened w^th^ the faith of Abraham, endued with the mildnesse of Moises, armed with y^e^ fortitude of Joshua, exalted with the humility of David, beautified with the wisdom of Solomon, may please thee in all things, may alwaies walk uprightly in y^e^ way of righteousnesse, may nourish and teach, defend and instruct thy Church and people, and like a mighty King minister unto them the government of thy vertue against all enemies, visible and invisible, and by thy helpe reforme their minds to the concord of true faith and peace ; that being underpropped with due obedience and honoured w^th^ the condigne love of this his people, he may by thy mercy royally ascend up to the Throne of his forefathers, and being defended w^th^ the helmet of thy protection, covered w^th^ thy invincible sheild, and all clad w^th^ heavenly armour, he may gloriously triumph, and by his power both terrifie Infidels and bring joyfull peace to those that fight for thee, through our Lord, who by y^e^ power of his Crosse hath

destroyed Hell, and having overthrown the kingdome of the devill is with victory ascended into heaven, in whom doth consist all kingdome, power and victory, who is y^e^ glory of the humble, the life and salvation of his people, who liveth with thee and the holy Ghost now and for ever. Amen.

(*Benedic Domine*)

O lord, thou that governest all kingdomes from everlasting, blesse we beseech thee this our King, y^t^ he may rule like David, and by thy mercy obtaine his reward. Grant that by thy inspiration he may governe w^th^ the mildenesse of Solomon and enjoy a peaceable kingdom. Grant y^t^ he may serve thee with feare, and fight for thee w^th^ constancie. Protect him and his Nobles w^th^ thy shield, and alwaies give him victory by thy grace. Honour him before all y^e^ kings of the earth. Let him rule over countreyes and let nations adore him. Let him be singular in judgement and equity, and make him rich w^th^ thy rich right hand. Give him a fruitful countrey, and give to his children all good things. Give him a long life in this world and in his daies let iustice flourish. Strengthen thou y^e^ throne of his government, and w^th^ gladnesse and righteousnesse let him glory in thy eternall kingdome, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(*Deus qui populis*)

God, which providest for thy people by thy power and rulest over them in love, Grant unto this thy servant Charles the Spirit of wisdom and government, y^t^ being devoted unto thee w^th^ all his heart he may so wisely govern this Kingdome y^t^ in his time y^e^ Church may be in safety and Christian devotion may continue in peace, y^t^ so persevering unto y^e^ end in good workes he may by thy mercy come unto thy everlasting kingdome, through thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth w^th^ thee and y^e^ Holy Ghost world without end. Amen.

The Letany being ended y^e^ Arch-Bishop beginneth to say--

(*Sursum Corda*)

Lift up your hearts.

Answer.

We lift them up unto y^e^ Lord.

Arch-Bishop.

Let us give thanks unto y^e^ Lord our God.

Answer.

It is meet and right so to doe.

Arch-Bishop.

(*Vere dignum est*)

It is very meet, right and our bounden duty, y^t^ we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee O Lord, holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, y^e^ strength of thy chosen and y^e^ exalter of y^e^ humble, who didst in y^e^ beginning by y^e^ powring out of thy flood chasten y^e^ sinnes of y^e^ world, and by a dove conveying an olive branch didst give a token of reconcilement unto y^e^ earth; And againe, didst consecrate thy servant Aaron a Preist by y^e^ anointing of Oyle, and afterward by y^e^ effusion of y^e^ oyle didst make Kings and Prophets to governe the People Israel; and by y^e^ voice of y^e^ Prophet David didst oretell y^t^ the countenance of y^e^ Church should be made cheerful w^th^ oile, Wee beseech thee, Almighty Father, that by y^e^ fatnesse of this thy creature thou wilt vouchsafe to blesse and sanctify this thy Servant Charles, that in the simplicity of a dove he may minister peace unto his people; that he may imitate Aaron in y^e^ seruice of God; that he may attaine the perfection of Government in Counsell and Iudgement and that by the anointing of this Oile thou maist give him a countenance alwaies cheerefull and amiable to y^e^ whole people, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Which being ended, y^e^ King ariseth from his devotions, and after he hath a while reposed himself in his Chaire of State, then ariseth, goeth to y^e^ Altar & there disrobeth himself of his upper garment.

Then the Arch-Bishop undoeth those loops in his Apparrell & Shirt & openeth y^e^ places to be anointed.

The Chaire on w^ch^ he is to be anointed being ready, the King sitts down, and the Arch-Bishop first anointeth him in y^e^ palmes of both his hands, saying :

(*Ungantur manus*)

Let these hands be anointed w^th^ holy Oile, as Kings and Prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel did anoint David to be King, that thou mai'st be blessed and established King in this Kingdome over this People, whom the Lord thy God hath given thee to rule and governe; w^ch^ he vouchsafe to grant, who w^th^ the Father and the Holy Ghost, three in Person, and one in Unity be blessed and praised now and for evermore. Amen.

And in the meane while the Quire singeth the Anthem:

(*Sadoc sacerdos*)

Sadoc y^e^ Priest, and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King, and all y^e^ people rejoiced and said God save the King for ever.

Then the Arch-Bishop saith this Prayer:

(*Respice Omnipotens*)

Looke down Almighty God with thy favourable countenance upon this glorious King, and as thou didst bless Abraham, Isaac, and Jaacob, so vouchsafe, we beseech thee by thy power to water him plentifully with y^e^ blessings of thy grace. Give to him of the dew of heaven and of y^e^ fatnesse of y^e^ earth, abundance of corne and wine and oile, and plenty of all fruits, of thy goodnesse long to continue; y^t^ in his time there may be health in our countrey, and peace in our Kingdome, and y^t^ y^e^ glorious dignity of his Royall Court may brightly shine as a most cleare lightning farre and neere in y^e^ eyes of all men. Grant Almighty God that he may be a most mighty Protectour of his Countrey, a bountiful comforter of y^e^ Churches and holy Societies, y^e^ most valiant of Kings; y^t^ he may triumph over his enemies, and subdue Rebells and Infidels; y^t^ he may be loving and amiable to y^e^ Lords and Nobles, and to all y^e^ faithful subjects of his Kingdom, y^t^ he may be feared and loved of all men, y^t^ his children may be Kings to rule this Kingdom by succession of all ages, and after glorious and happy daies in this life he may attaine everlasting ioy and happiness through Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Prayer ended y^e^ Arch-Bp. proceedeth with his anointing.

1. On the Breast.
2. Between the shoulders.
3. On y^e^ two boughs of both Armes.
4. The Crowne of the Head.[1]

The anointing being done the Deane of Westminster closeth the loops againe w^ch^ were opened. And the Arch-Bishop saith these Prayers:

(*Deus Dei filius*)

God, the Son of God Christ Iesus our Lord, who is anointed of his Father with y^e^ oile of gladnesse above his fellows, He by his anointing powre down upon thy head the blessing of the Holy Ghost and make it enter into y^e^ bowells of thy heart, y^t^ so by this visible gift thou maist receive invisible grace, and having iustly executed the government of this temporall Kingdome, thou maist reign with him eternally, who onely being without sin doth live in glory w^th^ God, to whom w^th^ the Father and y^e^ Holy Ghost be all power and dominion now and for ever. Amen.

(*Deus qui es*)

God, which art the glory of the righteous and the mercy of sinners, who hast sent thy Son to redeem mankind w^th^ his most precious blood, who bringest warrs to an end, and defendest those that trust in thee, upon whose goodness and pleasure the strength of Kingdomes doth depend, We humbly beseech thee in this Royal State to bless this thy servant Charles, who putteth his confidence in thy mercy. Vouchsafe in thy favour to be present w^th^ him, y^t^ he, who desireth to be defended by thy protection may be stronger then his enemies. Crowne him with the crowne of Iustice and Piety, that with all his heart and with all his mind he may trust in thee, defend and advance the holy Church, and governe y^e^ people committed to his charge in justice and equity. Kindle O Lord his heart w^th^ love of thy grace, by that holy Oile wherewith thou hast anointed him, as thou didst anoint Kings, Priests and Prophets; that He, loving iustice and leading his people by y^e^ waies of righteousnesse,

[1] *Side note.*—In manner of a Crosse saying as before: Let these, &c.

after ye *glorious course of his life which thou has appointed him may come to thine eternall joy, through Christ our Lord. Amen.*

The Prayer ended, first a shallow coyfe is put upon ye Kings head because of the anointing. And if his Mties haire be not smooth after it, there is King Edwards Combe for that end.

Then ye Colobium Sindonis formed like a Dalmatica is put upon him.

After wch ye Arch-Bishop saith this Prayer:

(*Deus, Rex regum*)

O God, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, by whome Kings do reigne, and Lawgivers doe make good Laws, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, in thy favour to blesse this kingly ornament, and grant yt *thy Servant Charles our King, who shall weare it may shine in thy sight* wth *ye ornament of a good life, and holy actions, and after this life ended he may for ever enjoy that life and glory which hath no end, through Christ our Lord. Amen.*

The Prayer being done the Deane of Westminster goeth on araying ye King.

1. With ye Supertunica, or close Pall.
2. With ye Tinsen Hose.
3. With the Sandalls.

Then are ye Spurrs by a Nobleman thereunto appointed to be put on ye King. When ye King is thus arayed, the Arch-Bishop taketh ye Kings owne sword laieth it on ye Altar and saith this Prayer:

(*Exaudi, quaesumus*)

Heare our Prayers, we beseech thee O Lord, and vouchsafe by thy right hand of Maty to blesse and sanctifie this sword, wherewith this thy Servant Charles desireth to be girt, that it may be a defence and protection of Churches, widowes, orphans and all ye *servants of God against* ye *savage cruelty of Pagans and Infidells; and* yt *it be a feare and terrour, to all those* yt *lie in wait to doe mischief through Christ our Lord. Amen.*

Then ye Arch-Bishop and ye Bishops assisting deliver ye sword to ye King, ye Archbishop saying:

Accipe gladium per manus Episcoporum.

The sword is girt about him by a Peere thereunto appointed; the Arch-Bishop saying:

Receive this Kingly Sword wch is hallowed for the defence of ye holy Church and deliuered unto thee by the hands of the Bishops (though unworthy, yet consecrated by ye Authority of ye holy Apostles). And remember of whome ye Psalmist did prophecy saying, Gird thy self wth thy sword upon thy thigh and wth this thy sword exercise thou the force of equity and mightily destroy the growth of iniquity, Protect the Holy Church of God, and his faithfull people, and pursue hereticks no lesse then infidells, defend and help widows and orphans, restore the things yt are gone to decay, and maintaine those things that are restored, be revenged of injustice, and confirm things yt are in good order; yt doing these things thou maist be glorious in ye triumph of vertue, and excellent in ye ornament of Iustice, and reign for ever with ye Saviour of ye world, whome in name thou dost represent[1] *Christ or Lord, to whom wth the Father and ye Holy Ghost be all power and dominion now and for ever. Amen.*

Then is ye Armill put about ye King's neck and tyed to ye boughs of his armes the Arch-Bp saying:

(*Accipe Armillam*)

Receive ye Armill of sincerity and wisdome, as a token of Gods enbraceing: whereby all thy workes may be defended against thy enemies both bodily and ghostly, through Christ or Lord. Amen.

Then is ye Mantle or Open Pall put upon ye King by ye Deane of Westminster, ye Arch-Bp saying:

(*Accipe Palliam*)

Receive this Pall which is formed wth foure corners to let thee understand yt ye foure corners of the world are subiect to ye

[1] *Aliter:* "Whose Image you bear."

power of God and y^t no man can happily reigne upon y^e earth, who hath not received his Authority from Heaven.

Then the Arch-Bishop taketh the Crown into his hands, layeth it before him upon y^e Altar, and saith y^is Prayer :

(*Deus tuorum*)

God the Crowne of y^e faithfull, who crownest their heads w^th a crowne of precious stones, that trust in thee, Blesse and sanctify this Crowne, that as y^e same is adorned with diverse precious stones, so this thy servant that weareth it, may be filled w^th thy manifold graces of all pretious vertues through y^e King eternall, thy Son o^r Lord. Amen.

Then the Arch-Bishop setteth y^e Crowne upon y^e King's head saying :

(*Coronet te Deus*)

God crown thee with a Crown of Glory and righteousnesse, w^th y^e hono^r and worke of fortitude : that thou by our ministery having a right faith, and manifold fruit of good workes, maist obtaine the Crowne of an everlasting kingdom by y^e gift of him whose kingdome endureth for ever. Amen.

And afterward he saith this praier :

(*Deus perpetuitatis*)

O God of Eternity, the Commander of all powers, the vanquisher of all enemies, Blesse this thy Servant who boweth his head [1] *unto thy Majesty, preserve him in long health and prosperous felicity, be present with him, protect and defend him whensoever he calleth upon thee. Give him, we beseech thee the riches of thy Grace, fill his soule with goodnesse, and Crowne him with thy mercy, and let him alwaies in godly devotion waite upon thee, through Christ our Lord. Amen.*

After y^e Prayer y^e Arch-B^p reads the Confortare. But formerly y^e Quire sung it.

[1] *Side note.*—The King must be heere put in mind inter orandum inclinare caput, verbis orationis id postulantibus.

(*Confortare et esto*)

Be strong and of good courage and observe the commandements of y^e^ Lord to walke in his waies, and to keep his ceremonies, precepts, testimonies, and Iudgements; And the Almighty God prosper thee and strengthen thee wheresoever thou goest. The Lord is thy Ruler, therefore shalt thou want nothing.

In y^e^ meanewhile y^e^ Quire singeth ye Antheme:

(*Deus in virtute*)

The King shall rejoice in thy strength O Lord, exceeding glad shall he be of thy salvation.

For thou hast granted him his hearts desire and hast not denied him the request of his lips.

For thou hast prevented him with y^e^ blessings of goodnesse, and hast set a Crown of pure gold upon his head.

Then y^e^ Arch-Bishop taketh y^e^ Kings Ring and saith this Prayer:

(*Benedic Deus*)

Blesse O Lord and sanctify this Ring, y^t^ thy Servant wearing it may be sealed with y^e^ Ring of faith and by the power of y^e^ highest be preserved from sin, and let all y^e^ blessings w^ch^ are found in holy Scriptures plentifully descend upon him, y^t^ whatsoever he shall sanctify may be holy, and whatsoever he shall blesse may be blessed. Amen.

Then y^e^ Arch-B^p^ putteth y^e^ Ring on y^e^ fourth finger of y^e^ Kings right hand saying:

(*Accipe Regiae dignitatis*)

Receive the Ring of Kingly Dignity, and by it y^e^ Seale of Catholique faith, y^t^ as this day thou art adorned y^e^ Head and Prince of this Kingdome and People so thou maist persevere as the Authour and Establisher of Christianity and the Christian faith; y^t^ being rich in faith and happie in workes thou maist raigne with him that is King of Kings to whome be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

After the Ring is put on the Arch-Bp saith this Prayer :

(*Deus cujus est*)

O God to whom belongeth all power and dignity, give unto thy Servant Charles the fruit of his Dignity ; wherein grant he may long continue and feare thee alwaies, and alwaies labour to please thee through Christ or Lord. Amen.

Then ye Kg putteth on ye Liñen Gloues because of ye Anointing.

Then ye King taketh off his Sword wth wch he was girt before, and with it he goeth to ye Altar and there offereth it up.

Then ye Chief Peere then present offereth and redeemeth ye Sword, taketh it from ye Altar, draweth it out, and so carrieth it before ye King, from that time during ye whole solemnity.

Then ye Arch-Bp taketh the Scepter with the Crosse, and delivereth into the Kings right hand saying :

(*Accipe Sceptrum*)

Receive the Scepter, ye signe of Kingly Power, ye Rod of the Kingdomes, the Rod of vertue, that thou mayst governe thyself aright, and defend the Holy Church and Christian people committed by God unto thy charge, punish ye wicked and protect ye iust, and lead them in ye way of righteousness ; that from this temperall kingdom thou maist be advanced to an eternall kingdom by his goodnesse, whose kingdome is everlasting. Amen.

Then ye Arch-Bishop saith yis Praier :

(*Omnium Domine*)

O Lord, the Fountaine of all good things, and ye Authour of all good proceedings, Grant, we beseech thee to this thy servant Charles yt he may order aright ye Dignity which he hath obtained. Vouchsafe to confirme the honour which thou hast given him. Honour him before all Kings, and enrich him wth a rich benediction. Establish him in ye Throne of this Realme. Visite him wth ye encrease of children, Let Iustice

spring up in his daies and with joy and gladnesse let him reigne in thine everlasting Kingdome. Amen.

Then ye Arch-Bishop delivereth ye Rod with ye Dove into ye Kings left hand saying:

(*Accipe virgam*)

Receive the Rod of vertue and equity. Learn to make much of the godly and to terrify the wicked, Show ye way to those that goe astray, Offer thy hand to those that fall, Represse the proud, Lift up the lowly, yt Our Lord Jesus Christ may open to thee the dore, who saith of himself, I am the dore, by me if any man enter, he shall be safe; And let him be thy helper, who is the Key of David, and ye Scepter of ye house of Israel, who openeth and no man shutteth, who shutteth and no man openeth, who bringeth ye captive out of prison where he sate in darknesse, and in ye shadow of death, yt in all things thou maist follow him, of whom ye Prophet David saith, The scepter of thy kingdome is a right Scepter, thou hast loved righteousnesse and hated iniquity, wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee wth ye oile of gladnesse above thy fellows, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After this he blesseth ye King saying:

(*Benedicat tibi*)

The Lord blesse thee and keepe thee, and as he hath made thee king over his people, so he still prosper thee in this world, and make thee partaker of his eternall felicity in ye world to come. Amen.

The King thus crowned and invested vouchsafeth to kisse the Arch-Bishop and Bishops that were assisting at his Coronation.

This done ye King goeth from the Altar to ye Stage to his Throne Royall. All ye Bishops and other Peeres everyone in his place attending him.

Heere the Arch-Bishop useth this Prayer:

Grant O Lord yt the Clergie and people gathered together by thine ordinance for this service of the King may by the most gracious assistance of thy goodnesse, and ye vigilant care of

thy Servant our King be continually governed and preserved in all happinesse. Amen.

The Quire singeth :

Te Deum laudamus, We Praise thee O God.

The King reposeth himself in his Chaire of State before ye Throne til ye *Te Deum* be ended.

After ye end of it the King is lift up into his Throne by ye Arch-Bishop and Bishops, and being enthronized or placed therein, ye Arch-Bp saith :

(*Sta et retine*)

Stand and hold fast from henceforth that place whereof hitherto thou hast bin heyre by ye succession of thie forefathers, being now delivered unto thee by the Authority of the Almighty God, and by ye hands of Us and all the Bishops and Servants of God. And as thou seest the Clergie to come neerer to ye Altar, so remember that in places convenient thou give them greater honour: that the Mediatour of God and man may establish thee in this Kingly Throne, to be Mediatour betwixt ye Clergy and Laiety, and that thou maist reigne for ever with Jesus Christ ye King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.

Which done the Keeper proclaimes the Kings generall Pardon at ye foure sides of the Stage. And then, omnes proceres tunc praesentes, all the Peeres then present doe their Homage to ye King publickly upon ye Stage.

The Arch-Bishop first with ye rest of the Bishops kneel downe and make their homage, saying :

I, N.N. shall be faithfull and true, and faith and truth beare unto you our Soveraigne Lord and your Heires Kings of England ; and I shall doe and truly acknowledge the Service of the Lands wch I claime to hold of you, as in right of the Church. So help me God.

Then he kisseth the King's left cheeke ; so ye rest of the Bishops after him.

After this the Peeres of the Realm kneeling down do make their Homage saying :

I, N.N. do become your Liegeman of life and limme, and of earthly worship; and faith and trueth I shall beare unto you, to live and die against all manner of folks. So help me God.

Which done they all together stand round about ye King, and stretching forth their hands do touch the Crown upon his head; as promising by way of ceremony, every one to be ready to support it wth all their power. And then kisse the King's cheeke.

Then ye King delivereth ye Scepter and ye Rod with ye Dove ijs qui Stirpi Regali sunt propinquiores or to whome he pleases, who ease the King of them, and carry them before him.

The solemnity of the Kings Coronation and Enthronizing being ended the Archbishop leaveth the King in his Throne and goeth downe to the Altar.

In ye interim ye Quire singeth the Anthem:

Behold O God our defender and looke upon ye face of thine Anointed.

Then the Arch-Bishop beginneth the Communion, and useth this Prayer:

(*Quaesumus, omnipotens Deus*)

O Almighty God we beseech thee yt this thy Servant Charles our King, who by thy mercy hath received the government of this Realm may also receive an encrease of all vertues, whereby he may be acceptable unto thee, and avoid ye Gulfe of vice, and overcome all his enemies, and finally come to thee in glory, who art ye way, ye truth, and ye light, through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

Then is ye Epistle read by a Bp.

1 *S. Pet. ii.*, 12, 13, *etc.*

Then is ye Gospell read by another Bishop.

The Gospell.

S. Matt. xxii., 15, 16, *etc.*

Then ye Arch-Bishop beginneth and the Quire singeth ye Nicen Creed :

I believe in one God, etc.

The Creed ended, ye Arch-Bp readeth (or the Quire si n) ye Offertory :

Let yor light so shine, etc.

And then ye Organ playeth. And ye Quire singeth :

Let my praier come up into thy presence as the Incense, and the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice.

In ye meane while the King descendeth from his Throne and goeth to ye Altar ; offering first Bread and Wine for ye Communion.

Then the King kneeling the Arch-Bishop pronounces over him this Prayer :

Blesse, O Lord, we beseech thee these thy gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use, that by them we may be partakers of the Body and Bloud of thine onely begotten Son Iesus Christ : And thy Servant King Charles may be fedd unto everlasting life of soule and body, and enabled to ye discharge of this great place, and Office whereunto thou hast called him, Of thy great goodnesse, grant this O Lord for Iesus Christ his sake, our onely Mediatour and Advocate. Amen.

The King after this, returning back to his Chaire, and a while reposed, cometh ye second time to the Altar and there offereth,

Unam Marcam auri.

And kneeling downe, ye Arch-Bp saith :

(*Omnipotens Deus det tibi*)

Almighty God, give thee the dew of heaven and fatnesse of the earth, and abundance of corne and wine, Let all the nations and ye Tribes adore thee. And God shall be thy helper ; God blesse thee with ye blessings of heaven above the mountaines and the hills, and wth the blessings of ye earth beneath, with ye blessing of corne and fruit. And let ye blessings of the old Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob be established upon thee, through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

The Arch-Bishop shall also add this blessing:

(*Benedic Dne fortitudinem*)

Blesse O lord the vertuous carriage of this King, and accept the worke of his hands. Replenish the Realme w^th^ y^e^ blessing of heavens of y^e^ dew, of y^e^ water & of the deepes. Let y^e^ influence of the Sunne and Moone drop down fatnesse on the high mountaines, and y^e^ clouds raise plenty upon the low valleys, y^t^ the earth may abound with store of all things. Let y^e^ blessings of him that appeared in the bush descend upon his head, and y^e^ fulnesse of thy blessings fall upon his children and posterity. Let his feete be dipped in oile, and his horne exalted as the horne of an Unicorne, by which he may scatter his enemies from the face of the earth. The Lord that sitteth in heaven be his defender for ever through Iesus Christ o^r^ Lord. Amen.

The King kneeling still at y^e^ steps of the Altar the Arch-Bishop proceedeth to y^e^ Consecration of y^e^ Sacrament.

And when he and his Assistants haue communicated He administreth the Body, & y^e^ Deane of Westminster y^e^ Cup to y^e^ King.

Two Bishops then present are to hold before the King a towell of white silke.

After y^e^ Communion is ended the King returneth to his Throne. And in y^e^ meanwhile the Quire singeth y^e^ Antheme:

(*Intellige clamorem*)

O hearken thou, etc.

After the Anthem the Arch-B^p^ readeth y^e^ last Prayers. The Quire then singeth:

Glory be to God on high, etc.

And so y^e^ Communion endeth.

When the Communion is ended, the King accompanied & attended as before goeth into S. Edward's Chappell from his Throne in State.

And at the Altar there the King taketh off his Crowne

and delivereth it to the Arch-Bishop who layeth it upon the Altar there.

Then ye King withdraweth himself into ye Traverse there prepared for him.

In the Traverse the Great Chamberlaine of England disrobeth the King of S. Edwards robes, and forthwith delivereth them to the Deane of Westminster, who bringeth and layeth them upon the Altar. Then is the King newly arrayed with his Robes prepared for him to weare that day, & laid ready in the Traverse to that end by ye Great Chamberlaine.

The King being thus newly arrayed cometh from the Traverse to St. Edward's Altar.

The Arch-Bishop revested still in ye same manner as he was at the Communion setteth ye Crown Imperiall provided for ye King to weare that day, upon his head.

The King so crowned taking into his hands the Scepter & ye Rod, goeth from St. Edward's Altar and so up to ye stage; and so through ye midst of ye Quire and the Body of the Church out at ye West dore, and so returneth to the Palace the same way he came, cum magnâ gloriâ.

The Scepter & Rod of St. Edward, which the King carried in his hands is after dinner ended to be delivered to the Church of Westminster, to be kept, as heeretofore they have beene, with ye rest of the Regalia.

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